

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTIONS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

THERE are a number of misconceptions concerning psychoanalysis, some of which at least I would like to clear up. In 1908, when I first introduced psychoanalysis into this country, I addressed myself primarily to the medical profession, for psychoanalysis was developed by Prof. Freud while he studied the border-line cases of mental disturbances, and my interest was merely that of a psychiatrist who vainly tried to help such patients and finally found in psychoanalysis the most valuable instrument for the treatment and exploration of the mind. But even then it was realized that the subjects treated by psychoanalysis went far beyond pure medical spheres, for when a human mind was entered for the purpose of studying the origin of an abnormal manifestation, all his normal mental and emotional expressions had to be considered. In the course of many years Prof. Freud thus solved the mysteries of dreams, wit, mythology, fairy tales, and threw much light on the history of civilization and on the development of religion and philosophy,—subjects and phenomena which, strictly speaking, do not belong to abnormal states. It was therefore quite natural to expect that persons interested in the above mentioned subjects would be attracted also to psychoanalysis, and a review of the very extensive psychoanalytic literature shows that it not only drew to itself the attention of the medical profession but also that of the psychologist, educator, and serious minded lay-

INTRODUCTION

man, and notwithstanding some uninformed individuals to the contrary, much good has already been accomplished. Last but not least it has also attracted many charlatans and quacks who find in it a medium for the exploitation of the ignorant classes by promising to cure all their ailments by psychoanalysis. This, as everyone knows, is nothing new in medicine; there is no disease which is not cured by quacks. One could therefore easily remain silent and think that any person who is foolish enough to entrust his mind to quacks deserves no consideration, but as I feel somewhat responsible for psychoanalysis in this country, I merely wish to say that, whereas psychoanalysis is as wonderful a discovery in mental science as, let us say, the X-ray in surgery, it can be utilized only by persons who have been trained in anatomy and pathology. As a therapeutic agent psychoanalysis at best has a very limited field, it can only be used in the treatment of special cases. It cannot cure cancer, it cannot make an adjustable citizen out of a defective "radical," it cannot return an arrant young husband to a neurotic elderly lady, it has no more to do with the separation of mismated couples than the microscope with the dissolutions of tissues; in fine it cannot make a normal person out of an idiot, and does not give a philosophy of life to a person who has not brains enough to formulate one himself. But it has already rewritten all the mental sciences, and in the hands of trained psychiatrists it can cure the most chronic psychoneurotic affections. Moreover, the knowledge gained through it is developing a prophylaxis, which will not only diminish nervous and mental diseases but will establish newer methods in our system of education. In brief, psychoanalysis aside from its therapeutic application, which is not the object of this work, is of interest to any person who wishes to

INTRODUCTION

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understand human nature and know himself in the Socratic sense.

The material found in this book is taken from the lectures given at my elementary course at the department of pedagogics of the New York University. This course is primarily intended for those who are occupying themselves with problems of education and psychology. But as it is impossible to talk about the normal individual without showing what would happen to a child if subjected to a peculiar or special kind of environment, I have given illustrative cases from abnormal spheres as well as brief, in no way technical, descriptions of some forms of mental derangements. I have also tried to avoid technical expressions as much as possible, and have not taken the trouble to clutter this volume with a lot of references, which a book intended for professional people would necessarily demand, but anyone knowing of my activities realizes that all my work is built on Prof. Freud's foundations, and are referred to his works for more detailed and more technical information.

Mr. Sydney M. Frankel, one of my former students, has given me very valuable suggestions, and relieved me of the task of indexing this book. I am very much indebted to him.

A. A. BRILL

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE CATHARTIC METHOD	1
II. THE SYMPTOM: ITS NATURE AND FUNCTION	25
III. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FORGETTING	47
IV. PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EVERY-DAY LIFE	76
V. WIT: ITS TECHNIQUE AND TENDENCIES	113
VI. THE DREAM: ITS FUNCTION AND MOTIVE	139
VII. THE DREAM: ITS FUNCTION AND MOTIVE (continued)	158
VIII. TYPES OF DREAMS	184
IX. TYPES OF DREAMS (continued)	221
X. COMMON FORMS OF INSANITY	253
XI. THE ONLY CHILD	279
XII. FAIRY TALES AND ARTISTIC PRODUCTIONS	296
XIII. SELECTION OF VOCATIONS	313
INDEX	337

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTIONS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

CHAPTER I

THE CATHARTIC METHOD

"... It is by utterance that we live. . . ."

PSYCHOANALYSIS is a term that was fully developed by Professor Sigmund Freud and his pupils, and, etymologically, means mental analysis. We hear about all kinds of psychoanalysis, but the psychoanalysis that we are going to study is a mental analysis of a special kind that works with special instruments; it means the analysis of normal and abnormal activities by a certain definite method,—through the analysis of dreams, psychopathological actions, hallucinations, delusions, and psychic attacks of all kinds which we find in the abnormal spheres. It was originally developed by working with the so-called border-line cases of mental diseases; that is to say, Professor Freud treated cases of so-called nervousness which the average physician puts under such headings as neurasthenia, hysteria, obsessions, and phobias. In order that we may understand fully how the subject of psychoanalysis was evolved, it seems to me desirable to say a few words about the early history of mental diseases.

The first scientific description of insanity dates back to 460 B. C.; at that time Hippocrates considered mental disturbances as abnormalities due to some abnormal condition in the brain. Following him there was a long period

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Brief Survey of Nervous and Mental Diseases

of intermission, but one may find clinical descriptions by such men as Aretæus in 60 A. D., by Galen in 100 A. D., and by many others. During the middle ages the subject was not only neglected, but a great retrogression followed. Insane people were treated most cruelly, and like criminals were chained and put to death for being obsessed. But with the advance of civilization, the insane began to receive more and more attention, and in 1792 Professor Philippe Pinel of Paris brought about the abolition of chaining. He was the first one to recognize that the insane person was a sick person and not a demon or criminal, and since his time there has been a gradual tendency toward both ameliorating the condition of the insane and understanding the nature of insanity generally.

Modern or present-day psychiatry dates back about twenty-five years or perhaps even less. But we may say that long before then individual efforts had been made to study the subject intelligently and scientifically, and we find accordingly a great many scientific contributions to catatonia and other diseases. But yet most of the text-books then current talked about mania and melancholia as if they were diseases by themselves. Nowadays we know, of course, that melancholia or mania are not diseases; it would be just as wrong to call coughing a disease. We all know that coughing is only a symptom of a disease; it is not an entity. That is to say, one may cough because he has tuberculosis, or perhaps an ordinary so-called cold. And so, too, with mania. Among the insane there is no form of insanity that may not show a period of that so-called mania. It is just a symptom. And so, as you see, symptoms were taken for diseases and there were a great many misunderstandings. I have seen on record at hospitals for the insane where a patient has been diagnosed, say in 1880, as a case of mania, two years later

as a case of melancholia, three years later, again as a case of mania, and five years later the patient died of softening of the brain. This occurred simply because the doctors did not know any better, and this is still true of the ordinary practitioners, particularly of those doctors who have received their education under the old régime.

It was Professor Kraepelin, at that time of Heidelberg, who evolved modern mental science. He was a pupil of the great psychologist Wundt, and he discovered that the insane followed definite characteristics not only in the manifestations of their abnormal perceptions but also in the whole course of their disease. Kraepelin did for mental diseases what Virchow did for pathology. The latter held that we must know how the organs look in order to diagnose a disease. He examined diseased lungs, for instance, and found they showed certain characteristic features. But of course it was not until the microscope was used that real entities were established, for though a diseased lung may appear tubercular to the naked eye, it may not be that at all when studied and compared under the microscope. In mental diseases, the microscope is psychoanalysis. For years no effort was made to find out what the patient said, or, if he said anything at all, what it meant. It was sufficient when he was taken to the hospital, to write in our notes that he was dull, stupid, and demented. What all that really meant made little difference. When I came to the State Hospital, I examined a patient's record of twenty years. I would read,—1882, patient dull, stupid, and demented; then a few years later, patient demented, dull, and stupid, and so on until they almost exhausted all possible permutations and combinations. Then "the patient suddenly died."

With Kraepelin's work, however, which was introduced here mainly through the efforts of Adolf Meyer, there was

PSYCHOANALYSIS

a marked improvement. Psychological entries were regularly made, every history was comprehensively noted, and particular attention was paid to the general behavior of the patient. We noted, for instance, what the patient said and did, whether he showed any hallucinatory and delusional trends, such as imagining that he is an emperor of Japan and that he was robbed of his throne, or whether he was just indifferent to his environments. His intelligence, memory and orientation were thoroughly tested, and last but not least he received a thorough physical and neurological examination. Only after such an examination did one venture the diagnosis. However, when one reads a number of histories of the same disease entity, say, dementia praecox, one will readily observe that there are no two cases exactly alike. And Kraepelin and his school never asked why it was that patient A had hallucinations of hearing a woman calling him endearing names, and why patient B heard a little child crying "mother," and why patient C heard a man speaking to her. No effort was made to find out why this was so, until Professor Freud published his original studies of the so-called border-line cases of mental diseases.

When we began to examine the nature of hallucinations and delusions, we found for example that there is a definite reason why such and such a woman sat in a corner of the room at the hospital and fondled a doll made of rags and newspapers, talking to it as though it were her baby. When we investigate this woman's life, we find that she had an only child and lost it, and thus became insane. When a woman talks to herself, as it were, we find upon examination that she misses that person to whom she talks. I have in mind at present a woman who continually converses with her imaginary bridegroom. Upon investigation it is found that on her wedding day, when all the guests and relatives were assembled, he took short leave and did not come. Every-

body, of course, went home and bitterly inveighed against him; she alone tried to defend him. She was stupefied and could not imagine that he would not come; she begged the people to wait, and they continued to wait for hours, but the man never appeared. Then suddenly she ran to the door and exclaimed that she heard him talking to her, and since then she has been at the hospital for the insane.

Before Freud developed psychoanalysis, it was commonly held that if a person is nervous, there must be something wrong with his physical make-up, though this could not be substantiated by examination. Such patients have always formed a very large class of cases, complaining of all sorts of aches and pains, peculiar feelings, morbid fears and obsessive thoughts, for which there was no physical basis. Dr. Beard, an American physician, concluded that as nothing wrong could be ascertained in the physical examination of such cases, there was necessarily something wrong with their nerves, and he therefore designated this whole class of cases as neurasthenia, which means a weakness of nerves. As a matter of fact, these cases really show no more "weakness of nerves" than people who have no such complaints to offer. But Dr. Beard thought that the nerve fibers must be weak, for apparently there was no heart trouble, nor lung trouble, nor anything else that was organically wrong, to account for the patients' complaints. Various remedies were used in neurasthenia but the treatment was purely symptomatic. Thus if the patients were excited the medicine quieted them, if dull or depressed they were stimulated. But whatever was the remedy, they did not recover; they kept on taking these drugs and continually returning to the doctor, much to the disgust of both physician and patient. I may say that fully eighty percent of patients that consult doctors suffer from such complaints, as has been shown by the experience of numbers of consultants. They represent the largest class

PSYCHOANALYSIS

of patients that we find in clinics, dispensaries, and private practice. Of course, they may be helped somewhat, but that only temporarily. Years ago, when I worked in five different clinics and dispensaries in New York, I would come in touch with patients who had made the acquaintance of all of them. I would treat a woman in the Vanderbilt Clinic and then meet her in the Bellevue dispensary; she looked quite abashed and sorry, and declared apologetically that the medicine she received from me in the first clinic no longer did her any good. And so these patients kept on moving from one hospital to another, and as a matter of fact, they still do to this day.

About 1880 Professor Heinrich Erb of the University of Heidelberg discovered the therapeutic value of electricity. It soon became the rage; it was used in the diagnosis as well as in the treatment. Every nervous person was sooner or later initiated into the mystery of electrical shocks; when the ordinary ones proved ineffective, new forms of electrical sparks were invented. But at best such treatment only served as a form of suggestion. In a few weeks the patient would come back with some new ailment. Electricity may do some temporary good, but it never cures. A little electricity, a dose of medicine, or a cold bath or massage may help a little, but I do not hesitate to say that I have never seen a chronic case that was cured by such means. Like the other practitioners of his time, Professor Freud resorted to all the remedies at his disposal but the results were very discouraging.

It was at this time that Freud read about Professor Charcot of Paris, who was experimenting with hypnotism. Charcot found that he could hypnotize a hysterical person and suggest to her the symptom of another person and the patient would have this symptom. In other words, he maintained that hysterical symptoms can be suggested through hypno-

tism, and if they can be suggested, they can also be removed by hypnotism. Let me say, in passing, that hypnotism is nothing quite as strange and mysterious as you generally imagine. Do not think that a person can be hypnotized *volens nolens* in the manner shown on the vaudeville stage. No one can be hypnotized against his will. But there is no doubt that if people are willing, they can usually be hypnotized. Charcot's experiments soon became widely known in the scientific world. As soon as Freud heard about these new studies, he left his practice, went to Paris, and became one of Charcot's favorite pupils. He worked with him for about two years.

When Freud came back to Vienna, he at once decided to utilize his knowledge on cases of neurasthenia. He had a friend older than himself, Dr. Breuer, a man of great learning, and recognized in Europe for his attainments in medical and scientific subjects, who took considerable interest in his career. Naturally he was very eager to know all about Charcot's work and after Freud explained to him what the noted neurologist was doing in hysteria, Breuer began to describe what he considered an unusually interesting case. He told his younger friend about a woman whom he thought to be intelligent and refined and who was suffering from a severe case of hysteria. She had been treated by some of the most prominent neurologists in Europe and finally came back to Breuer, her family physician. One day she said to him: "Dr. Breuer, if you would only let me talk to you and if I could tell you how my difficulties started, I think we could do something." Dr. Breuer was sympathetic and told her to go right ahead. She began to tell him of a paralysis she had, and presently she went into an intimate account of her life; she talked on and on with much feeling, and when he reminded her, in a frank and friendly way, that he could give

The
"Talk
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Cure"

PSYCHOANALYSIS

her no more time, she asked him for an appointment to come again. Every time she came and talked for an hour she felt appreciably better; she called it the "talking cure." She insisted upon calling on him just to talk. She would tell him when a certain symptom came, how she suffered, about her intimate affairs, and about such and such a dream. She spoke about things that a doctor would not generally think of listening to. It meant quite a tax on his time, but he was anxious to help her. He became attached to her and sympathized with her emotional difficulties; and gradually she was losing one symptom after another. It seemed strange to Breuer; he had given this woman all sorts of medicines, another doctor had given her hot and cold baths, and another electricity; and now she came merely to tell him stories and was getting well.

To Freud this story was full of significance; it opened up problems to him that he had been pondering for years. He asked himself why this woman should be getting well by merely talking. As he went deeper and deeper into the problem, he became more and more convinced of one fundamental principle. He began to see more and more clearly that the whole idea was, that if the patient could go back to the origin of the symptom, then the symptom would disappear. The great difficulty, however, was that it took so much time. When a person comes to you and tells you about his or her life and you have to be a sympathetic listener and live through that life, as it were, you cannot go through with it in the twinkling of an eye; life is long, and it takes time to track its undercurrents, and a person's thoughts do not run in seconds; it is not a matter of feeling a pulse. Freud suggested that hypnotism be used in conjunction with this "talking cure," for hypnotism is supposed to broaden consciousness; it opens up the whole mind; no resistances or inhibitions are offered; things come into the

mind and take root. A patient in the waking state will not be able to answer questions, unless you give him a long time to think and recall. Freud thought accordingly that it would be a splendid idea to hypnotize her and ask her how and when she got her symptom; this would save so much time. And so he and Breuer took the patient's history first, then hypnotized her and asked her about her painful condition. The patient would recall and tell everything, and gradually the symptom disappeared.

Freud and Breuer worked together for some time and got wonderful results; they were so impressed with this new procedure that they called it the "Cathartic Method," which means the purging of the mind, a sort of unburdening of the mind. In every-day life, we all know the therapeutic value of expression; when a person tells you his troubles he begins to feel better; we say a weight has been removed from his heart. They took cases that had been resisting treatment for years and cured them. They finally reported some of them and formulated various theories. In the first place, they found that all hysterics suffer from the past. Every hysterical symptom represents some mental or emotional disturbance that has taken place in the person's life in the past; there were occurrences of a disagreeable and painful nature which every individual likes to forget. The idea was that if a patient can recall an unpleasant situation and live it over, so to say, he loses the symptom; that words are almost equivalent to the action, and that in going over some painful experience in the past, there is what is called an *abreaction*, German, "*Abreagierung*," in which the painful emotions associated with the experience are liberated and thus cease to create physical disturbances. When the patient had a pain in the face it was treated as neuralgia; of course, it may have been that or not. If it is neuralgia it will usually yield to treatment, if not it is a psychic pain, a functional pain. It

represents, in concrete form, the expression: "I felt as though she slapped me in the face." When the painful situation is brought back to the patient and explained to him, the symptom disappears.

Let me make all this a little clearer by an example. A woman has a pain in her arm; she consults the doctor, who examines her and asks her whether she was out yesterday.

She says she was, and that the weather was bad and she caught cold. He prescribes a medicine, but the pain continues. She returns to the doctor, he tries some other remedy, but the pain grows worse. The patient is discouraged and consults another physician; she now merely tells him she has rheumatism in her arm; she gives him the symptoms; he takes it for granted that she has rheumatism and treats her accordingly. She goes from doctor to doctor until some diagnostician pronounces it hysterical and not rheumatism. She consults a neurologist and we find this story: She is a young woman who had made the acquaintance of a college student. As time went on, they became more and more intimate and it was rumored that they were to be married; in fact she thought so too. Upon graduating, he left the city and kept up a long correspondence with her. He came and spent his vacations with her; but he did not propose. The general impression was that, as he was a young man, he wished to make his way in the world before he married. Thus for years he came, spent his vacations with her, and left without proposing. The last year he wrote her with manifest enthusiasm that at last he had reached the goal of his ambition: he had received an appointment with such and such a salary. All the relatives heard about the letter and were now quite sure he would marry her. He came for his vacation, as usual, spent some time with her and took her out for a long walk the night before he left. But he did not propose. Everybody was disappointed; the mother was

disgusted; her brother threatened to punch him in the face when he came again; and the poor girl was terribly grieved. She was told to drop him and think no more of him; she was willing to do so but claimed that it was much easier said than done. She argued that he must love her or else he would not write and spend his vacations with her; she felt that she was his only confidante. She did not realize that there are men who are so inhibited in their love life that they cannot propose. She was experiencing a mental conflict. She wanted to drop him; but there was no mistake about his loving her. He was a serious, quiet, well-behaved man who came from a very fine family and whom no one could accuse of being a trifler. "He certainly is not an adventurer, because he does not act like one," she would think to herself; "but why, then, does he not propose?" I would like you to notice the human, emotional element that enters into all these cases. Gradually, however, she made up her mind that he did not love her and that she would have nothing more to do with him. In time she was even ready to write to him not to correspond with her, but she could not gather sufficient strength to do so. Gradually there came on that pain in her arm.

When we go beyond the superficial aspects of this case, we find that it goes back to a fundamental condition in the past. We discover that the patient is suffering from the past, that the pain in her arm is only a monument of the past; it is a memento, one might say, of her mental conflict. In other words, when she was emotionally arguing with herself whether he loved her or not and when she had to repress all talk about him, and make herself believe that she did not love him, her feelings, her emotions became converted into that of pain. The arm was the arm that he pressed on the night before he left. She would say to herself: "But what about that feeling? He pressed my arm"; for then she had

PSYCHOANALYSIS

hoped that he would say the expected words. Analysis reveals that it is that feeling that she wished to retain in memory that became a pain; it was a symbolic form of expression, for she could not talk about it in any other way. Without having to speak about the young man she could now unconsciously retain this episode through the pain in the arm. There was in a sense, a morbid gain. She could now talk and complain about her pain and thus have some form of expression, though the fundamental and deeper phase of her condition was submerged and she knew nothing about it. We see here a conversion of past emotion into something physical.¹ When the patient realized this deeper aspect of her condition and when the painful past experience was brought to her consciousness she was cured. It was after careful study and observation of such cases that the idea was postulated, then, first, that one can convert psychic energy into physical manifestations, and secondly that a cure is effected by bringing the submerged painful experience to consciousness, thus releasing the strangulated emotions. This new viewpoint meant an enormous step forward.

We may see from the above case that what Breuer and Freud brought to the surface by the Cathartic Method were

The Conscious, Pre-conscious and Unconscious things that the patient found disagreeable and painful, things that the patient could not talk about. This young woman could not complain of the fact that the young man did not propose to her for so many years; and of course, if it is essentially a sexual situation, no sensitive person can speak about it openly, particularly a woman. In

¹ This conversion of mental into physical elements takes place in a certain definite way. This particular patient had the reminiscence of the arm, so it was in the arm; sometimes it is in the nose, hair or any other organ or bodily function. It is hard to realize how many different complaints one hears from patients of this type.

other words, they formulated the theory that the patient suffers from what we call strangulated emotions, certain feelings and ideas which we would like to give vent to, but cannot. We say they are finally pushed into the unconscious, and we postulate such a thing as unconscious, that is, something of which the person is absolutely unaware and which he cannot, through any effort of his own, bring to consciousness. In the Zurich school, which I shall have occasion to speak about later, we thought of the emotions thus associated with a painful experience as forming a complex. We defined it as an idea or group of ideas accentuated and colored over by profound emotional feelings which was gradually relegated to the unconscious for the very reason that it was of a distinctly painful nature and so could not be kept in consciousness. We unconsciously run away from distressing thoughts: we say we wish to forget them. These strangulated ideas and emotions remain in the unconscious in a dormant state, and any association may bring them to the surface.

A woman, for instance, gets up one morning, feeling perfectly well; she sits down to her desk to write a note to her friend. She writes the date and stops; a feeling of sadness gradually grows upon her, and she decides not to write. All day she feels depressed; it so happens that she comes to see me and tells me about it. Upon talking to her, I find that the moment she took her pen and wrote the date the latter struck a complex in her mind which evoked a certain date that went back a great many years to a day when something extremely disagreeable happened to her. When she became depressed, she knew nothing about it. She did not consciously recall the original painful experience. She merely experienced the emotion that went with the episode. In this pushing out of what is painful from the field of consciousness, we have an unconscious protective mechanism.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

We have to forget, so to say, a painful experience; if everything disquieting and troublesome were to remain in consciousness, life would be unbearable. But a word, an odor, a sound, a color, may plunge you right back into that state of mind of, let us say, ten years ago; you have completely forgotten the whole situation, but the emotion, like an old unwelcome visitor, comes up and depresses you. Sometimes the recurring emotions are pleasant ones, but usually they are unpleasant.

In studying such cases we find that the painful episodes are kept in the unconscious, because they could not be worked off at the time of their occurrence. An individual experiences a profound emotional shock and cannot give it expression; it remains in a repressed condition; and the only way to liberate the pathological energy it has accumulated is by bringing it to the plane of conscious expression. When the patient talks about it, he is living it over in a very vital sense. I have had a patient take a little statuette which was on my desk and throw it on the floor and break it, simply because he was intensely wrought up over a certain experience he recalled. I had a lady to-day in my office who was greatly surprised at first and laughed, when I explained to her the reason why she could not walk. Presently she cried out: "Doctor, my legs are tingling." I told her she could walk home, and she did. There was an abreaction; we reached the crux of the emotional experience; the whole situation was brought to her consciousness.

I would like you to notice that I am using the term "unconscious" and not "subconscious" which is used rather loosely by many people to denote so many different things. As we have already said, the unconscious, according to Freud, includes all those psychic manifestations of which the person is not aware. It is made up of repressed material, that is, of the sum total of those psychic processes which

have been crowded out of consciousness from the very beginning of childhood; they are the primitive impulses that have been inhibited and sublimated in the development of the child. The child is originally a primitive being; it is like a little animal, and as it gradually gives up the gross animal instincts, it represses them; we say they are pushed into the unconscious. We try to make a child do what it would not do, if left by itself. There are primitive impulses in every child which have to be curbed from the very beginning and which form points of crystallization for future repressions. An occurrence in one's life, at the age of fifty, for instance, may be traced back to some childhood repression; there is always some subtle and intimate connection in our present emotional experience with something that occurred in the past. Absorbed in the immediate synthetic significance of a present experience we cannot stop to realize the important part the past has had in molding it; in a very real sense it may be said that we are always elaborating upon old psychic material. But what is more, these past elements lie in the unconscious and are prevented from coming to the surface by the protective mechanism to which I have already drawn your attention.

Then, too, there are the repressions which take place in adult life; and because the late experiences of which they consist have not been subjected to the same amount of repression as the earlier and more primitive ones, we say they remain in what is designated as the foreconscious. We have, then, an unconscious, a foreconscious, and a conscious plane, as it were. As we go along, I shall try to show you how different psychic manifestations, such as neurotic symptoms, or dreams, fall into one or another of these categories. We shall see that the psychoneurotic symptom is the function of two separate systems, or psychic streams, both striving for expression. One subjects the activity of

the other to a critique, which results in an exclusion from consciousness. Now the criticizing system, or the foreconscious, is in closer relation to the one criticized, or the unconscious; it stands like a screen between the unconscious and consciousness. Both the unconscious and the foreconscious are unknown in the psychical sense, but the unconscious is incapable of consciousness without external aid, while the foreconscious can reach consciousness after it fulfills certain conditions which we shall take up later on. We maintain that eight-ninths of all our actions are guided by our unconscious and that consciousness as such is nothing but an organ of perception.

For some time Freud and Breuer continued to treat cases of hysteria and neurasthenia quite successfully; but they

The Cathartic Method Elaborated were soon confronted by a serious difficulty; they found that a great many people who were sick and needed help could not be hypnotized. They were especially interested in a certain very intelligent woman whom they made every effort to hypnotize, but without success. Finally Freud took her to Bernheim in France, who was reputed to be able to hypnotize almost all of his patients, but he, too, could do nothing with her. What was to be done? Freud then thought of an experiment that he saw in Bernheim's clinic. In hypnotism, if you give the person what is called a post-hypnotic suggestion, that is, tell him that at three o'clock, Friday, January 25th, he is to come to a certain place, and take, let us say, an umbrella there, precisely at that time he will experience a feeling of inner compulsion, and if no physical conditions intervene, he will try to carry out the suggestion. When the person is in the hypnotic state and receives such a suggestion, he is absolutely unconscious of it later; it is followed by what we term post-hypnotic amnesia; he forgets com-

pletely the entire experience. I once performed this same experiment with a nurse; a doctor was present to see how it worked out. Exactly at the stated time she came; she was under the impression that the doctor was one of my patients, and though she knew very definitely that no one was allowed to come into the office while I was being consulted, she nevertheless made an effort to enter. The doctor met her at the door and upon asking her what she wished, she replied: "I must go in and get an umbrella; it is raining." When he drew her attention to the fact that it was not raining she felt quite embarrassed. Thus without thinking, she carried out the idea she had received in the hypnotic state. In the same way, also, an alcoholic, for instance, will experience a feeling of nausea and will actually vomit whenever he tries to drink alcoholic beverages after he has received a hypnotic suggestion to that effect. Of course, the matter is not quite as simple as it may sound.

After such a post-hypnotic suggestion Bernheim would ask the patient to try and recall what happened while he was unconscious. The latter would say that he remembered nothing; he was urged on, however, to concentrate and think until at first some vague reminiscence came to consciousness, and finally the very suggestion that was given during the hypnosis. Now Freud saw no reason why the same thing could not be done with his patient who could not be hypnotized; if it was possible to recall a post-hypnotic suggestion, why should it be impossible to recall the episode associated with her symptom? He set about questioning the woman; at first she could recall nothing; he would insist upon her telling him what came to her mind, as she was concentrating her attention upon the symptom. She talked about many things that had no apparent connection with the particular situation; she went on and on and he noted very carefully everything she said. In this way, he finally reached

PSYCHOANALYSIS

the origin of the symptom. He then found not only that hypnotism was not necessary but that it was much better to treat a patient without it, for people, as a rule, have an almost instinctive dread of hypnosis. That is how he developed what he called the "continuous association method"; it was the most significant contribution to the psychoanalytic procedure.

I would like to draw your attention, in this connection, to a fundamental difference Freud pointed out between hypnotism and the psychoanalytic method. The former works, as in painting, by putting on impressions, *per via di porre*, as Leonardo da Vinci has so aptly expressed it; the latter method by removing all extraneous material, *per via di levare*. As the sculptor chisels a piece of marble into the ideal shape, so also in psychoanalysis, we endeavor to bring the individual into complete harmony and unity of character, by taking away all undesirable excrescences in the forms of needless inhibitions imposed upon him by his environment. In hypnotism we disregard the individual's mental make-up; he is in an unconscious state and we simply impose upon him some suggestion, in a bold, authoritative fashion. In psychoanalysis we learn to know the patient; we delve into the deeper mainsprings of his character; we gain his confidence; and when we have learnt his personality and come into vital and intimate relations with it, we then remove, as the sculptor, all extraneous matter. We impose nothing; we merely eliminate and dispense with whatever is superfluous, obstructive, and cumbrous.

Following this analogy I may add that there is also a similarity in the relations that sculpture and psychoanalysis respectively bear to the material with which each works. Just as in the former the ultimate result of the artist's efforts, his consummate achievement, will depend in large measure upon the nature of the material that he uses, so in the latter,

the physician's ultimate success in the treatment will be dependent to no small degree, on the character of the patient. We are told that in creative work there is always a fine blending of form and idea, of substance and execution. We look upon Michelangelo's Moses in a spirit of profound awe; how sublime and terrible does this old prophet appear! But have you ever paused to consider for a moment how ludicrous this powerful statue would be if instead of that fine, white, clear marble, the sculptor had used, let us say, some stone with black streaks running through it? And likewise in psychoanalysis the physician can attain the best results with the best type of individual only; by that I mean, a patient of the higher type mentally, morally, and in every other respect. Psychoanalytic therapy can accomplish nothing with the defective; the individual must be at least of the average type to derive any marked benefits from the treatment.

When we attempt to discover the origin of the symptom through the free and continuous associations of the patient, such as we have noted above, we find the way beset with many difficulties. Many things have to be found out before you can judge from the productions obtained from the patient; you get a mass of material and you may soon lose your way in it; you have to know what it essentially means. If you examine the actual productions that a person gives you when you ask him to tell you what comes to his mind, you will find a very peculiar state of affairs; you will then realize that there is no such thing in the world as a clear thinker. A patient has a jumble of thoughts running through his mind and he feels that he would appear ridiculous and stupid if he were to describe it; he is naturally embarrassed and finds refuge in silence. Moreover, there are certain perversities of nature that come to his mind,—very delicate subjects indeed, that no one likes to talk about.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Thus an enormous number of things emerge which he thinks are quite irrelevant, family skeletons, and little buried secrets that the doctor need not know. What is more, the very thing you are seeking is kept down and held in the unconscious by chains, as it were, because it is disagreeable and painful. As we have said, there is a protective mechanism on the part of the mind to prevent it from coming to the surface; you must not know it, because if you do, it will cause you pain. Another great difficulty is that the same words have very often different meanings to different people; no two individuals talk exactly the same language; everybody has his own way of expressing ideas; everybody has his own mode of reaction to this world. There are some expressions in every family that the uninitiated cannot understand; there is a sort of Freemasonry in every home. But the greatest difficulty is that the language that we find in the unconscious is different from that of our every-day life; what I mean is, that in the unconscious conceptions are expressed in a different way than in conscious life, as I shall show you more fully when we discuss the subject of dreams. Now all this had to be fathomed, analyzed, elaborated, weighed, and understood, before we could get at the heart of the situation.

In thus probing the unconscious, Freud became impressed with certain fundamental facts. For one thing, he began to see more and more clearly that impressions are imperishable, especially those we receive in early life. When we probe the mind we always find that the individual receives the most vital impressions that stand out for life and direct him, in the beginning of his existence. The child's mind when born is, in the words of Locke, a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate; the child is endowed with certain elementary mechanisms that will help it to sustain life; gradually those impressions are formed that are so vitally necessary for the proper adjust-

ment. Whether the individual will be the so-called normal or abnormal person, whether he will be able to adjust himself to his environment or fall by the wayside, depends entirely upon the nature of these early impressions. Given an average amount of brains, every individual as he grows up has certain tracks laid out for him by his environment; he can follow those tracks and those only; if he attempts to get off the track, he finds himself in trouble; he finds himself incompatible with his environment, he collides with his environment. It is thus of great importance to give the individual enough tracks to be able to move freely and at the same time not to come into conflict with his fellow beings. From a very broad experience with nervous and mental diseases, I feel that if everybody would understand this, all mothers and teachers particularly, we could reduce nervous and mental diseases as much as we have reduced diseases of small-pox and typhoid. We are not afflicted with these time-old diseases to-day because we know what produces them and have learnt to prevent them. We can do likewise with a knowledge of the psychoanalytic principles. Indeed the great service that psychoanalysis can render to-day consists chiefly of prophylaxis; as far as curing patients is concerned, I feel rather pessimistic at present. We can cure few in comparison with the overwhelming numbers: the treatment can be carried out only by physicians of experience with nervous and mental work; then, too, it requires so much time that very many people cannot afford it. I feel that it will take probably from twenty to thirty years before we shall have enough institutions to afford needy patients the benefits of psychoanalytic therapy.

There was also another fundamental thing that very forcibly impressed Freud, as he continued treating and studying his patients. He found that when they began to dwell on their intimate personal experiences, they practically all

would invariably bring up matters appertaining to sex. He was so impressed with this fact that he asserted that in the normal sex life no neurosis is possible. Even before him, neurologists of the old school have always known that sex played a part in nervous conditions, but to them it was just gross sex, it meant just the physical elements of sex. Freud formulated a new concept of sex. To him the sexual life of the individual meant his love-life. He used the term in the broadest sense, as embracing not merely the gross sexual, or the physical elements, but all that we commonly associate with love. He found that the conceptions of sex in vogue at his time were practically all false. It was generally held that there was no manifestation of sex until the boy or girl reached the age of puberty, when, suddenly, and in some mysterious way, the sexual impulses appeared. Freud found, however, that there were sexual experiences, or feelings very much allied to sex, at the age of six or seven, or even earlier. What many people consider as something other than sex is really an integral phase of it. Love and sex are the essential components of the love-life and they go hand in hand. Let me assure you that I have seen a number of cases where all so-called love existed, but there could not be normal sex relations, and there was a separation or a divorce. Consider, for instance, the case of a woman who marries a man after being in love with him for about six years; upon marriage, it is found that he cannot consummate his marital agreement; we find very soon a separation often followed by a divorce.

We maintain that sex is born with the individual just as he is born with every other organ, every other function. The child is born without teeth, but upon examination, you will find that the pulps are there from which the teeth will later come. The child has all the partial impulses of sex, of love, and of the mechanisms that later go to make up the specialized function. You can actually see a child of a few weeks,

react to the feeling of like and dislike; observe an infant of say a few weeks, smile at it and it will respond, frown at it and it will make faces. What does a child of that age know, you ask. It has these partial impulses at birth and it reacts accordingly. This attitude toward sex has been subjected to a great deal of criticism and Freud has been accused of laying an undue amount of stress on sex; many have been and still are opposed to his theories on that very account. They declare that there are a great many cases that show nothing irregular in their sexual life and yet are nervous. Without going into details at present, I wish to say that my own experience very definitely corroborates Freud's position.

Continuing to delve deeper and deeper into the recesses of the mind, Freud also began to see more and more clearly the intimate relation existing between the dream and the patient's innermost thoughts and feelings. In dwelling on some significant emotional experience, the patient would very often say: "Just at that time, I had a peculiar dream. I was walking and a man came up to me and attacked me; I was terribly frightened; I tried to run but could not; I was just rooted to the spot." At first Freud paid no more attention to these dreams than any other intelligent man of his time. But gradually, as he listened to them, he began to see that they must have some place in the vital economy of the mind, for everything in the physical or mental spheres must have a function. In time he was convinced that the dream is not a mere jumble, a senseless mechanism, but that it represents frequently in symbolic form the person's inmost thoughts and desires, that it represents a hidden wish. He thus developed his monumental work, the greatest in the century, in my opinion, "The Interpretation of Dreams." He found that the dream offered the best access, that it was the *via regia*, as he put it, to the unconscious; that it was of tremendous help not only in the treatment, but also in the diagnosis.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

'And finally, as Freud continued to observe and study his cases more and more deeply, as his horizon widened and widened all the time, he began to see more and more that everything in the psychic life has meaning, everything has a cause, nothing that the individual may do or say is meaningless. Every slip of the tongue, or mistake in writing, or some unconscious gesture or movement has significance. I asked a friend the other day over the 'phone where he had been since his marriage; and he replied that he went on a "money-hoon." He meant to say "honeymoon," but when a man marries, money begins to play a rather significant part. If we pay attention to what is being said and done about us, we shall find a tremendous amount of material that is unusually interesting. We will learn later on why we make these mistakes. Freud's fascinating book on "The Psychopathology of Everyday Life" deals with this subject and I would advise those who are anxious to read his work to begin with this one, for it is the simplest of all his writings. In probing the unconscious, Freud thus discovered material that is of the utmost importance not only in the treatment of patients but also in the development of normal people, in education, folklore, religion, art and literature, and every other field of human interest. We may say that he has practically rewritten all of mental science and created new concepts in every sphere of mental activity. With his work as a starting point, new fields of thought and investigation have opened all the time, and there gradually has grown up an enormous literature on psychoanalysis, swelling all the time in the variety and range of the subject matter, all growing out of the effort to help humanity, to treat those unfortunate people for whom nothing could be done in the past,—the so-called "nervous" people.

CHAPTER II

THE SYMPTOM: ITS NATURE AND FUNCTION

IN our previous discussion we noted that a neurotic symptom, such as, for instance, the pain in that young woman's arm, is really a monument of the past; that through the symptom the neurotic is able to dwell on the painful episode in the past, to complain, and weep over it very much like one who would shed tears to-day over the battle of Lexington, or over the Spanish inquisition. I said that the patient had to repress certain ideas and emotions because they were intolerable and distressing; he had to forget a disagreeable situation to which he could not adequately react. We say that the ideas and emotions were strangulated; that they were pushed into the unconscious. It is different, of course, with the average normal person: if he is insulted and feels hurt, let us say, he will either try to retaliate, or if he cannot do that out of weakness, or cowardice, he will very soon manage to "get over," as we say, the whole affair, to shake himself free from it. Some people, however, by virtue of the fact that they are made of finer, more sensitive substance, of perhaps better clay, cannot forget it and they will dwell on it continually. They were commonly designated as nervous persons, or neurotics; they were generally considered as being defective in one way or another, as mental degenerates. From what I have already pointed out you may readily see that this conception is entirely erroneous; that, on the con-

Freud's
Concept
of
Sex

trary, far from being mental degenerates, they are as a class high types of individuals.

* This does not mean, however, that those who are mentally deficient do not have hysterical mechanisms. The crucial point is that they do not manifest a definite neurosis as we understand and describe it. When a young lady who has been well-bred, experiences a sexual feeling, she will often revolt against it; and particularly if she has not been enlightened in matters of sex, she will make an earnest effort to crowd it out of consciousness, because she regards the experience of and by itself as something distinctly ugly, wrong, immoral. On the other hand, defectives who are never able to assume those inhibitions that society has imposed upon the average individual are thus able, by virtue of their deficiency, to commit all sorts of immoral acts. Only a woman who is a defective can be a prostitute in every real sense of the word; a normal woman might perhaps think of being one, but only a moral idiot or an imbecile can be one. The normal woman is so constituted that prostitution is altogether out of the question; she may perhaps have some sort of an amour with a man, but she will not resort to prostitution in the narrow sense of the word. Nor does a normal man become a habitual criminal. He may swear off the taxes, or take an occasional false oath, but he is not going to make a practice of committing crimes. The inhibitions that are imposed upon us by society are so strong and exacting that we revert of ourselves to the time-old conclusion that "honesty is the best policy": it is the most sensible, the most practical, the most pragmatic policy; it allows us a measure of freedom that we otherwise could not enjoy. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that civilization with its manifold inhibitions, impositions, and prohibitions makes it indeed very difficult for us to live. There is not a human being who does not feel the burden of civilization lie heavy on his shoulders;

and though we all bear the cross as patiently as we know how, who of us in his heart of hearts does not find himself sometimes discontented and complaining? That is the price we have to pay for civilization. Sometimes the injustice heaped upon a predisposed individual is so great and overwhelming, that, as his deeper sense of morality stays his rash hand from some criminal act, he becomes neurotic; and sometimes he goes even further, he becomes psychotic. That is the way he tries to purge his bosom of all "perilous stuff."

I am using the terms "neurotic" and "psychotic" and I wish that you note the difference between them. A neurosis is a nervous disease or a nervous disturbance such as we have seen in the case of the young woman who had that pain in the arm, for instance. It has nothing to do with insanity. The neurotic or psychoneurotic is perfectly sane. What is more, he is usually above the average person in mental development. A psychosis is a mental disorder; the psychotic patient suffers from some form of insanity. He need not necessarily, of course, have anything in common with the mental defective. While I am on this point, I would also have you distinguish functional from organic insanity. The latter is due to some physical disturbance like certain poisons, injuries to the brain, or abnormal growths. The functional cases are those whose brains are apparently normal; that is to say, if you examine the brain of a paranoiac and that of a brilliant man, you will find no essential difference between them; the former shows no pathological condition.

In mental diseases there are two important entities that were discovered by Kraepelin, and as I shall have occasion to refer to them from time to time, in this course of lectures, it may be well to say a few words about them in this connection. On some future occasion I hope to enter into them in more detail. Kraepelin found that those young patients whom he found in the hospital and who were diagnosed as

sometimes suffering from mania, and sometimes from melancholia, or other conditions, showed a definite form of insanity which he called dementia praecox. It is a chronic, progressive form of insanity, which once developed, can never be cured, and only on rare occasions do sufferers of it sufficiently improve to be sent home, in which case, they cannot completely adjust themselves, and what is even more distressing, they usually require constant care and attention. Probably seventy-five per cent of patients of this type are between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five; when they become insane, they may show symptoms of mania or melancholia or both, but the principal feature is the emotional deterioration. That is to say, what we first notice is that they grow careless and indifferent about their personal appearance, their surroundings and the people about them. A very intelligent college student, for instance, loses interest in his work and does not care a farthing whether he passes his examinations or not. Listless and unconcerned, he sits and gazes into space; doctors and parents regard this, at first, as mere laziness. The condition continues for years; he may be taken to a doctor who diagnoses it as neurasthenia. Some time later, he may suddenly do something quite absurd and the parents wake up to the seriousness of the situation; or he may commit some gross act in public and be arrested and sent to the hospital for the insane. Now this is one of the greatest entities in mental diseases. I may safely say that the bulk in the insane hospitals is made up of just this group and the prognosis is very bad. As I have said, patients of this type never recover; they sometimes improve sufficiently for the average layman to consider normal, but the majority of them never leave the asylum. They always retain a mental scar.

Another entity which Kraepelin discovered was the so-called manic depressive group of insanity; patients afflicted

with this disease manifest sometimes symptoms of mania, that is, a condition of marked excitement and exaltation, and sometimes melancholia, that is, a condition of extreme depression and retardation of thought and action. He found that cases that sometimes thus show mania and sometimes melancholia run a definite course throughout life; they usually have attacks of melancholia followed by mania, after which there is an interval ranging from a few months to a few years; they then begin a new cycle. If you examine the life history of a patient who may have such attacks, you find that they last a certain period, and then he recovers. Such patients are designated in common parlance, as crazy, particularly when they have the manic attacks. They may have four or six or ten attacks of melancholia during their life, soon shake off the depression and recover, and not show the slightest mental scar.

When the first of these entities, dementia praecox, was investigated a few years ago in the Manhattan State Hospital in New York, it was found that over 70 per cent of the cases had open delusions of sex. If the investigation had gone a little further, and sex were taken to mean what Freud generally designates as sex, that is, the individual's love-life, I have not the slightest doubt but what it would have been found to be 100 per cent. According to the common conception of sex, in other words, a woman fondling a bundle of rags, as if it were her baby, was not regarded as manifesting a sexual disturbance; we, however, look upon the case as being sexual, because it deals with her love-life. If people generally would regard sex in the light that we do, they would readily see that it is present in all mental disturbances. Thus Freud's dictum that no neurosis is possible in a normal sex life holds true even in the psychosis. I have had the privilege of addressing a large gathering of laymen some time ago, and it was noteworthy that after I had

explained to them in what broad sense Freud and his pupils use the term sex, their former resentment was gone; some of them declared that if by sex we thus mean everything relating and growing out of the love-life of the individual, there was no question at all but what they were absolutely in accord with our stand.

We can lay it down as a fundamental that if a person's love-life is adequately adjusted, his adjustment to life generally is normal. On the other hand, those who are unadjusted, suffering from a neurosis or psychosis, are maladjusted sexually. Let us not imagine for a moment that there is anything degenerate in an individual who is thus imbued with conscious or unconscious sex cravings; we are born with the impulses, and it is only the person who does not possess them that is really abnormal; he is as unfortunate as those who are born deaf and dumb. The normal average person has a love-life and it has to manifest itself in some way; it is just as essential for a person to have an outlet in his love-life as to have pure air and food to sustain himself; if he has not, he eventually has to suffer for it. Now civilization has rendered the normal outlet very difficult: with the advance of civilization the struggle for existence has been more and more lightened, but as far as satisfying the emotion of love is concerned, he finds himself in a somewhat embarrassing and critical situation: with the advance of civilization, the outward expression of love has become more and more difficult. Our sex impulses are most assiduously guarded; society is most severe in its censorship of all manifestations of sex: the sex impulses are continually subjected to a merciless criticism. In our Anglo-Saxon communities, they have not even the esthetic and social outlet, because of the too great separation that we find between the sexes. The result is that, owing to the matrimonial difficulties and the two children system, the women especially who have not been

able to express themselves adequately for centuries and whose lot is growing harder and harder in our civilization, suffer from a marked need of love. If you find a woman depressed and out of sorts with herself and weeping, who cannot tell you what is ailing her, you may safely conclude that she is craving for love; give her the necessary love outlet through happy marriage and children, and she will have no more crying spells. It is for this reason that hysteria has always been characterized by these crying spells, but no one ever made any effort to discover this underlying cause. A mother may suddenly lose her only child whom she loves deeply. If she is a sensitive woman who receives no love from her husband she will often develop a neurosis, for now that the child has gone out of her life, she has been cut off from her only love outlet. There is nothing degenerate in this; it is no more degenerate than to have pneumonia, or tuberculosis, or a broken leg.

Some time ago a young woman consulted me, because, as she said, she was extremely nervous; she declared that she suffered from insomnia, that her appetite was poor, and that she entertained peculiar thoughts. When asked what she meant by peculiar thoughts, she replied that she simply could not stomach her mother who was constantly "getting in her way." Whenever, for instance, she wished to do something, however trifling, her mother stood in the way. There was nothing of love or sex as we commonly understand these terms, so that to one who is not accustomed to our viewpoint, it would have shown nothing wrong sexually. But as there is a very vital and intimate relation between child and parent, there was really a disturbance in the love-life of this young woman. So you see how different our conception of sex is from that ordinarily held.

Some women will sometimes say to me with manifest feeling: "Now, doctor, you don't have to ask me about love

PSYCHOANALYSIS

or sex, for I never experienced such a thing in my life, and what is more, I never bother with such trifles." But let us remember that love is the very mainspring and breath of life, the *vis vitalis*, as it were. Indeed, everything in life may be reduced to two fundamental instincts : hunger and love ; they are the supreme rulers of the world, as Schiller has put it :

"Einstweilen, bis den Bau der Welt,
Philosophie zusammen hält
Erhält sie das Getrübe
Durch Hunger und durch Liebe."

From a purely biological standpoint, the impulse of hunger or self-preservation has gradually lost its importance with the advance of civilization ; it has, however, not entirely been eliminated. We still have to work for the necessities of life, but it is no longer that bitter and dangerous struggle of primitive times when a man was compelled to forage and risk his life. To-day no one need really starve from hunger ; and what is more, he is not permitted to do so, even if he should want to. How zealously do the authorities work to break a hunger-strike ! I myself have fed insane persons through the nose for as long as two and three years until they consented to take nourishment in the normal way. But the satisfaction of the sex cravings has become, as we have said, a more and more distressing problem with the advance of civilization. We find that in the whole range of the animal kingdom nature has made definite provisions for sex which begins to manifest itself at puberty. But in a state of civilization the human being cannot live as the animal, and instead of exercising his biological functions as destined by nature, is forced by society to defer them to a later period of his existence. It means, of course, a tremendous amount of control and effort on the part of the individual ; and it may be of interest for you to know that there is not a young man or woman with whom I have come into intimate touch who

has not had trying and terrible struggles in thus repressing the sexual feelings.

I would have you note here that our conception of sex applies also to children. This may sound a bit startling to you, so let me proceed at once to illustrate what I mean with one or two examples: A child of about three and a half years old absolutely refuses to do whatever it is bidden; it has been an angelic little creature, and suddenly a complete transformation occurs. It cries, resists every effort to make it do anything and is absolutely unmanageable; the doctor has been called in, but medicines have proved ineffective. Here is the history of the case: It was the youngest of a few children in the home; the parents have separated; it was found that the mother carried on an amour with a certain man and she naturally had to leave the house; the children were placed in charge of a very fine governess. The mother was a woman of an emotional type and very much attached to her children. The governess was a typical English lady, cold and strict with the children. The older children who were all past the fifth year managed to get along quite well; if they resented anything at all, they registered their protests in the open and the affair was over. But this youngest child at once began to cry and behave in the strange fashion I have described. The symptoms surprised me; it behaved like a grown-up person suffering from dementia praecox. Of course, I decided at once upon the nature of the cure. The child's love-life was disturbed; it was accustomed to receive love from its mother, and suddenly a new environment interfered; this cold-blooded woman came into its life, who looked at everything objectively, impersonally; the child was pining for the mother's affection. It took me quite a little while before I had matters so arranged that the mother could see the child every other day. It soon recovered and

has been well ever since. We say there was a disturbance in the sexual or love-life of the child.

Or consider the case of another child of four years who was perfectly well until the parents decided to send away the French governess. The little girl grew very depressed, was bitterly incensed at her mother and remarked to her father: "If mademoiselle will be sent away, I'll die herself." She had not yet learned to say "myself." The father, who was a physician, was very much alarmed; he came to me and declared quite frankly that he did not know what to do. I assured him that I had no doubt at all that if the child had been given enough attention by the mother, she would not behave in that way; that now that it was decided to send away the governess, upon whom she was depending for her love, she felt that she would be left all alone. Indeed, how would an adult feel, if he were separated from the one person whom he loves? The doctor assured me that that was exactly the situation; that he always felt that his wife neglected the little girl. I advised him to see that his wife take her place as mother to the child, play with her, and give her of her affection, and then dismiss the governess. Thus the problem was solved: the little girl received a normal love outlet.

We must remember, however, that the sexual life of the child is different from that of the adult. The sex-life of the former consists of what we generally think of as love; it likes to be petted and fondled and humored, it likes to receive attention and have its way in its own little world. Later on, when it grows into manhood or womanhood, there will be other manifestations, which we do not find, of course, in childhood. Yet these first and early emotional reactions are just as much a part of its sex-life as the later ones. Whenever we find, then, an emotional disturbance, let us not fail to examine the parents' behavior, if it is present in a

child; if in an adult, let us remember the words of Dumas père: "cherchez la femme."

In speaking about the neurotic, we said that the symptom represents some painful emotional experience in the past which he tried to crowd out of consciousness, to forget. Thus it is in a very real sense, an emotional outlet, and that is why patients intrinsically, though unconsciously, are loathe to give it up; there is, as we have said, a morbid gain. It sometimes happens that there can be no normal, wholesome outlet for some loss or misfortune, from the very nature of things, we might say. Take, for instance, the case of a woman who has lost her husband, and has no children, no relatives, no financial resources. She is also in no condition, by virtue of age and other factors, to think that she can go into the world and find some normal outlet, such as marriage. She becomes hysterical and we find her in a hospital. She is intelligent and sensible and when you begin to discuss her case with her, she will presently tell you that she really does not know what she can or will do when she leaves the hospital. When you assure her that you will cure her, she begins to worry about the awful void ahead of her: for indeed, she has nothing to live for. In other words, the doctor who attempts to cure her, is face to face with a herculean task. We had, of course, an altogether different situation in the case of that young woman who had that pain in her arm. One could see at once that she could and ought to be cured; there was everything in her favor; her complaining about the pain and her consulting doctors was really a substitute, I might say, for the love for which she was ardently craving; all that she had to do was to learn to face reality. In proportion, then, as a normal outlet is lacking, the patient will continue to hold on to the symptom more and more

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Outlet

firmly. Thus, given two young people who are equally sick, if one derives a greater morbid gain from the neurosis than the other, he will remain sick much longer than the other to whom fortune has not been so "kind." The time required to cure a patient is directly proportional, we might say, to the degree in which he is morbidly benefited by his neurosis.

In the same way there are persons who simulate insanity; it is in itself an outlet, a sort of morbid gain. In the olden times when an individual dissembled madness, he was brutally punished for it; the doctor would presumably cure him by the very simple device of turning a hose of cold water on him. If he survived the treatment, he was fired out of the hospital with very little ceremony. But let us not forget that even those cases who simulate are abnormal; no normal persons will resort to such an outlet. An individual who acts in this fashion is sick and we should treat him as such. To-day we impress upon him that we know he is feigning, but we do not treat him with brutality. The commissioner of correction asked me some time ago to examine a man of this type who was accused of a certain crime. There was a friend of mine with me who is not a physician and I told him that the case was a puzzle to medical men. When I examined this fellow he played crazy and did all sorts of queer things. I gave him a thorough examination in the presence of my friend whom I addressed as doctor. I said: "Doctor, it is the rarest case I have ever seen," and I mentioned some medical name. "I am quite sure that in this case there is such and such a condition; just to corroborate the diagnosis, I'll wager that if I take the man's arm and stretch it out, he will hold it in that position indefinitely." Before I had the opportunity to do that, he did it himself; the poor fellow tried very hard to feign various conditions. I told him that there was to be no prevarication and he soon confessed that he was deceiving and begged me to help him.

I made it very clear to him that I would help him on the condition that he be straightforward and honest. No one can feign insanity. When a person tells the doctor he has pneumonia, it may be proven by just listening to the chest. Likewise in insanity, there is nothing that has not been reduced to a certain definite form and condition. When a person is really insane, his insanity is manifest. I have never found any one who has succeeded in counterfeiting it, and I have seen malingerers here and abroad. They may succeed in bamboozling some doctors who do not know. You will occasionally read in the newspapers that some men have simulated insanity and then declare that they are not at all insane, but I know for a fact that a real insane person would be the last one to plead he is insane. Let us bear in mind that any individual who tries to pretend insanity or hysteria, no matter in what difficult straits he find himself, is abnormal, for no normal person would resort to such an outlet.

We see this mechanism very often in a less pronounced form. A patient informed me once that when she was young she found that she was treated well when sick, and so whenever she did not wish to go to school, she would say that she had a headache. That was her way of solving the problem. Now she really has those headaches and is unable to do important work that she even likes, though it is noteworthy that the headaches are far more severe when she has to attend to something she dislikes.

What we said about the neurosis applies also to the psychosis. Like the neurotic symptom, the insane condition serves as an emotional outlet, it enables the patient to realize his wish. Some individuals upon experiencing some heavy shock or misfortune, cannot resign themselves to the actual reality. The problem is such a mooted and difficult one that in order to solve it at all they have to tear themselves

away from reality completely. When they become insane, the wish that they desire to realize is then fulfilled in their insane condition. Here, too, we see that there is an attempt at adjustment, there is a morbid gain. Let me give you an example:

A few years ago there was much discussion in New York City on the need for laborers up the state for the harvest. Many tailors and people in similar vocation were then out of employment; one of these men who was quite poor was very glad to take advantage of the opportunity, particularly since he heard he would earn from three to four dollars a day and free board besides. When he was put to work as a farmer, however, it was found that he was not at all fitted or strong enough for the work. The result was that he was made a fool of by the farmer and his sons. He became quite sullen and morose and when once, upon provocation, he dared to retort, they gave him a sound thrashing and fired him. What was more, they would not pay him what was due him. He appealed for redress in the local court of justice, but everybody turned a deaf ear on him. He was about one hundred and sixty miles away from the city, and as he could not scrape up any money, he was compelled to walk home. He reached the city, fagged out and starved, crying for revenge. He consulted a lawyer who asked him for ten dollars as a retainer: the poor fellow did not have a cent. He was at a loss: wherever he turned he could receive no justice. Burning for redress, he would perpetually talk about it to his wife; he could not shake it off from his mind. One day he became fearfully excited, he shouted, kicked at the bedsteads, tore the pillows, heaping all the while all manner of abuse on the farmer. The wife was alarmed and sent for an ambulance; he was taken to the Bellevue hospital, where I saw him. He hallucinated and was continually raging against the farmer, who he imagined

was right there before him. He soon quieted down and after talking with him for a while I grasped immediately the true nature of his condition: the poor man behaved in that strange fashion, for he had no other way of giving vent to his feelings.

I might tell you right here the meaning of some of the terms I am using. By *hallucinations*, I mean false perceptions, that is, apparent perceptions without corresponding external objects. If a person sees things that do not exist at the time, he is suffering from hallucinations of sight; if he hears voices when nobody is talking to him, he suffers from hallucinations of hearing; if he mistakenly feels that an animal, for instance, is crawling in his stomach, he has a sensory hallucination. Thus all the senses can produce hallucinations. An *illusion*, on the other hand, is just a perverted sensation, there is a corresponding external object but it is falsely interpreted. When a person, for instance, suffering from alcoholic insanity, declares that there are snakes crawling over a carpet, he is simply misinterpreting the figures and designs there; he calls them snakes because of certain poisons in the nerves of the retina. Thus, too, an individual who hears some one talk and insists that the latter is talking about him, whereas he really is not, is suffering from an illusion. On the other hand, a *delusion* is a false idea which is absolutely fixed and from which you cannot reason the patient away. When a man informs you that he is the emperor of China and you know that he is an ordinary New York tailor, then he has a delusion of grandeur; or if a man tells you he is the real pope and his enemies have substituted a sham pope in his place, when you know that he is perhaps a hod carrier, he has delusions of grandeur and persecution.

The psychosis, then, being a form of abnormal adjustment in itself, an abnormal attempt at a solution of some inner

PSYCHOANALYSIS

problem, the expressions of the insane cannot be meaningless; they have significance and value in terms of the essential psychic conflicts. Before Freud came on the scene, no attention was paid to the utterances of the insane. We know now that their hallucinations and delusions are not at all meaningless or irrational, that they have their *raison d'être*. In no light sense, may we say that there is method in madness. Take, for instance, the insane woman who apparently falls in love with every doctor. Upon examination, you will find that she had an unhappy love affair and she identifies some other man with her lover who had forsaken her. In other words, in order to checkmate nature, as one might say, she tears herself away from reality. It is in itself an abnormal adjustment. When we are overtaken by some misfortune, we all seek refuge in different ways; some throw themselves into scientific or literary work, others into social activity or business. Thus in time sorrow loses its keen edge. Some people, however, cannot do this; they represent a special type of sensitive material. More than 50 per cent of all the patients in insane asylums are of this type. They are men and women who could not learn to accept the facts, who could not "forget." Instead, they tore themselves away from reality altogether, and realized their wish in their own way, thus solving the problem.

It has been pointed out that the symptom is the resultant of two psychic streams both striving for expression, one, the

The Symptom as Compromise foreconscious, subjecting the activity of the other, the unconscious, to a sort of critique which results in an exclusion from consciousness.

The basic meaning of the symptom, no matter what the symptom may be, whether paralysis, aphonia, or delirium, is absolutely unknown to the person; its mechanisms are entirely incomprehensible to the average observer. I can

make this clear to you by giving you a complete example. A woman of about thirty-five is unhappily married. Her husband treats her most brutally and she detests him; she would leave him but she loves her children deeply, and feels that such a move on her part would be quite detrimental to their good name and welfare. In her distress, she turns to a certain friend of her husband, who sympathizes with her and is very eager to do all he can to help her out of her difficulties. In the course of time they fall in love. He is a married man and that, of course, complicates the situation even more. He assures her that she is perfectly justified in behaving as she does, for her husband's brutal treatment is without doubt unjust and reprehensible. That, of course, carries much weight with her, because she met this man originally through her husband who was a former classmate of his. They begin to think seriously of securing divorces and marrying, but here again, the man cannot resign himself to the idea of leaving his children. This is quite characteristic of people of this type; they can never gather sufficient strength to carry out what they wish to do, they are so much under the influence of their early bringing-up. Be that as it may, they played with the idea for years. She used to reproach herself for her conduct, for at bottom she was really quite religious and regarded matrimony with a deep sense of sacredness. In time, the man suggested sexual relations, to which she objected quite strenuously.

One day he made an appointment with her to meet her at a certain place: she knew very definitely just what the nature of the rendezvous would be. However, she apparently decided to go, left her home, and walked over to the car which passed in front of her house. As she was waiting for it, she suddenly felt a pain in her heart, she became flushed, her heart began to palpitate, and she feared that she would faint. An officer assisted her home and she was confined to bed.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

'At first the doctor thought she had heart trouble, but after a few days she was able to leave the bed and it was found that there was really nothing wrong with her heart. She presently went out to shop and the moment she found herself in the street she began to fear that she would have another such attack ; she returned home and took her little girl with her, so that she might not be alone in case something serious should happen to her. The family gradually began to realize that she was afraid to go out alone. Finally she came to see me.

What is the deeper significance of this situation ? We see here two opposite psychic streams in conflict. From a biological viewpoint, the woman was entitled to her share of love and affection ; there was the primitive emotion which a woman of this type, and for that matter every woman, would naturally experience when confronted with a situation of this character ; here on one side was her husband who maltreated her and on the other, a man who sympathized with her, loved her and was ready to help her in every way. But on the other hand, there is the thought of religion, our early training and society : we are brought up to feel that such an emotion is immoral, that only legitimate love is right. And so, as you see, there was a constant struggle ; she felt that had she kept the rendezvous, she would have committed adultery, she would have sinned, and so unconsciously she decided not to go. When I inquired what she feared, when she went out into the street, she replied that she was in terror of falling. You see what she really had in mind was a moral falling. Her fear of falling and perhaps of being run over and killed was a symbolic representation of her fear of committing sin. Thus, in a sense, she solved the problem. There was a compromise effected by the two streams in the form of the symptom. We designate a nervous condition of this type as an "anxiety hysteria." It

is a psychoneurotic disturbance which manifests itself predominantly through fear or anxiety.¹

There are, of course, many forms of nervous disturbances, into which we cannot enter here. There is one type about which I may say a few words right now, because it is so commonly referred to. It manifests itself in all kinds of obsessions, doubts and fears, and is known as a "compulsion neurosis," that is, a neurosis which is characterized throughout by a marked compulsiveness in thought and act. A patient suffering of such a condition may go to bed, for instance, then pause and wonder whether she locked the door, get up, assure herself that she did, and return to bed. A minute later it occurs to her that in locking it she may have perhaps unlocked it, and so she cannot rest until she makes sure. She may continue to go through this little performance perhaps one or two dozen times through the night. We call it doubting mania, "*folies de dout.*" Some sufferers of this type have a tendency to reason perpetually, *ad nauseam*. A person will begin to reason about some problem that he himself knows is absolutely absurd, but he cannot refrain from doing so. A man, for instance, who is not at all interested in socialism will suddenly begin to think of it; no matter where and when he meets a person he will be wondering whether that person is a socialist; he will bombard people with the most absurd questions on the subject. Another man who is not a bit interested in hypnotism will constantly ask questions about it; he consults all doctors who have the reputation of being specialists on the subject and finds out what they think on this or that phase of it. He feels that it is absolutely important that he should know all about it.

The case of the woman I have just described is, as you see, a nervous disturbance essentially growing out of the

¹This particular form of fear is known as "agoraphobia."

conflict between what she considered right and wrong, moral and immoral. It is a neurosis, and we distinguish it from a psychosis in that the latter is a mental disturbance in which the individual, unlike the neurotic, detaches himself completely from reality and behaves as if he does not belong there at all. To illustrate: A young lady of about twenty-nine is taken to me by her brother, who is a physician. He informs me that she has been acting strangely for the last four weeks, and he fears that she is a little out of her mind. She insists that all the girls in the shop where she is employed talked disparagingly about her; she cries, does not wish to leave the house, and wants to move out of the neighborhood because all the neighbors are in a conspiracy against her. As a result, she is in a state of marked depression. Her brother is right: of course there is something wrong with an individual who deems himself so important and popular as to have people everywhere talk about him. After insisting upon her to tell me what the world had to say about her, she finally said: "Everybody keeps on saying that I am a bad girl, that I have committed a lot of sex crimes." On further examination I learned the following: A young man began to call on her of late; he has been paying her quite a little attention. Some time passed, she was feeling well apparently, when she got a toothache. (It is significant that the young man was a dentist.) She had the tooth extracted and as gas had been administered, she was a little nervous and delirious after the operation. Since then she had entertained those ideas. She went on to assure me that the condition is entirely due to the fact that those girls are mean and jealous; that they make these slanderous remarks about her person because they are anxious to estrange the young man from her. Her brother then told me that he felt quite convinced that the main cause for her nervousness is the fact that the young man upon whom she had

built so many hopes, has not shown himself enough attentive of late; that in fine, he stopped calling on her.

The sexual import of the situation is quite patent. The girl was well brought up, quiet and well-behaved, and respectable in every way. Why then should she have such delusions, you will ask; they would seem to be incompatible with her own nature. Now there is a mechanism which we call "projection," by virtue of which we throw out to the outside world feelings and emotions which we have repressed. We say other people are saying or doing what we have repressed, what indeed, we ourselves once would have liked to say or do. Such delusions are called delusions of reference, *Besühungswahn*, in German. We mean by this that a person will interpret everything that is being said by people in his environment as referring to himself. The deeper meaning of the situation, then, lay just in this, that when the man stopped calling on her, everybody in her home began to criticize and blame her. Her mother and brother declared that she was by no means bad-looking, that on the other hand, she was quite attractive, intelligent and sensible, that she had friends, but that her great drawback was that she was too "good." She had native gifts, but of what use are they, if one does not put them to the best use? That was their mode of reasoning. In other words, they hardly troubled to disguise the fact that what she had to learn yet was to be a trifle bad. Apropos of this, I might say that this is one of those fanciful emotions that practically all moral women sometimes secretly desire to taste. We have named it the "being naughty motive," the "prostitution complex." So many respectable women have very often told me that they do wish they could have the experience of being a prostitute for an hour so that they might know just what it means. They are shocked by the very thought, but it is pleasing and thrilling none the less. This woman per-

haps never thought of it, but when it was driven home to her that she lost this man simply because she kept him at such a distance, because she adhered too strictly to the little proprieties and conventions of social life, she fully realized its significance and straightway the repressed thought comes to the surface and her unconscious wish is realized: she is really immoral and for that reason the young man left her. Thus, she who is at bottom an ethical individual must perforce come to the conclusion that the young man repulses her because she is bad, and immoral, and not because she is too good and moral.

The underlying significance of all these conditions, the nature of all these mechanisms, have not been understood, as I have said, before Freud; nowadays we can always find the reason of these phenomena and in this way cure most of the patients. By this, of course, I do not mean to imply that psychoanalysis is the panacea in all nervous and mental diseases, that every and any disease is amenable to the psychoanalytic therapy. I wish to say, on the contrary, that this treatment, like every other, has its marked limitations. It is applicable to a limited number of diseases only; and furthermore, the person who is treated by this method must be an individual of the higher type, mentally, morally, and in every other way. Every one can be psychoanalyzed, but analyzing and curing a patient are two entirely different matters; and the wise physician will not attempt to analyze one whom he does not think he can cure. There is no doubt, however, that psychoanalysis can help us to understand problems in various fields of vital human interest that were formerly altogether inscrutable to us. Furthermore, it enables us to see very clearly the forces that tend to upset and unbalance the individual, and thus is of invaluable service as prophylaxis.

CHAPTER III

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FORGETTING

THE main basis of Freud's psychology is that there is nothing accidental or arbitrary in the psychic life, that everything has reason and meaning. It matters not how complex or simple the condition may be, it has significance, and this significance may be discovered through analysis. There is thus a tremendous number of mistakes in speech and thought manifestations which we commonly make, that reveal, in a surprising way, the individual's real thoughts and motives. They are, as we say, symbolic expressions or psychopathological actions, incorrect psychic activities which the individual daily performs and of which he is not aware at the time. They have not been hitherto investigated, I mean psychologically, because they were regarded as essentially organic disturbances. I am referring to such faulty actions as lapses of memory, lapses of talking, mistakes in writing, dreams in the normal individual, and convulsions, deliria, visions, and obsessive acts in neurotics and psychotics. The psychologist has paid little attention to these phenomena because they presumably belonged to pathology, and the physician, to whom they were baffling and recondite to the last degree, passed them by, as if they did not at all exist. Freud in working with his patients began to pay attention to them because he found, as I have already said, that they all had a certain import and genetic basis. He thus developed in time what we may call a symbolic language. If you understand this language, you

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will then realize how it manifests itself practically all the time in our daily lives. Understand this symbolism and how full of meaning will be your friend's forgetting to do or say something! Sometimes a patient will be startled by what seems to him nothing short of psychic powers on the part of the psychoanalyst. I asked a woman to-day whether she has had a particular dream during her life, and she replied: "Oh, yes, I usually dream of mountains and water and waves and I delight in them greatly; but then, I have the same dreams when I am half awake and I despise them." My next question was: "Tell me, up to what age did you wet the bed?" and quite embarrassed she answered: "Until I was quite old." She wondered and then asked me how I knew it. This type of dream is quite characteristic of people who wet the bed; and there was really nothing remarkable in my arriving at the conclusion. Everything that a person does, the way he dresses or walks, his bearing and demeanor, his manner of talking, all have a definite meaning. I do not know whether you are aware of the fact that we are taught in medicine to observe carefully these seemingly trivial things. Take a patient, for instance, who may have had some brain disturbance, let us say a slight hemorrhage, but whose history is so vague that we cannot tell whether he did or not. In such a case we may very often make a diagnosis by examining the way his shoe is worn out and thus determine definitely whether or not he had some brain disturbance. The result of the slightest cerebral hemorrhage shows its effects in the gait; the patient wears off a little of the right or left of his shoe, and that is enough to give you a clue to his condition. If it has been a slight attack, it will evade the observation of the average observer but the experienced physician can detect it in the way he drags one of his limbs.

We must have a sharp eye for these little things about a person, particularly in the Insane Asylum. Very few insane

people tell us what we want them to, and it remains for the physician to make the diagnosis at once, for he has the patient's relatives forever on his heels, anxious to learn of what disease the patient suffers and how long it will be before he gets well and is able to come home. Sometimes, too, in their great eagerness and solicitude, they will ask you all that, before you have even had the opportunity to speak to the patient. And then, a great many of the insane do not talk and yet the doctor must make the diagnosis and give an intelligent answer. "But," you ask, "how can a diagnosis be made, if the patient does not talk?" But that is just the point: to an experienced physician his inability to speak may be due to some physical cause, such as aphasia, or perhaps to some mental retardation. The patient may move his lips, taking perhaps a half hour in his efforts to answer; you can see very clearly without knowing anything about lip reading, that he is trying hard to talk but cannot; he is suffering from mental retardation. Then, too, other patients actually refuse to talk, in which case of course the diagnosis must necessarily be different. We can tell at once that the patient who suffers of this mental retardation and has nothing organically wrong with him will recover; we can discuss his case with the same degree of definiteness as we can some physical condition. If the disturbance is organic, the prognosis can be made accordingly. In short, we must learn to observe and understand the patient.

In thus inquiring into the significance of psychopathological actions, Professor Freud made a study of forgetting. People generally regard forgetting as a common occurrence and I hear a good deal about it from patients, who very often inform me that they are very nervous and that they are forgetting all the time. When I sometimes ask the person to give me an example, he stops and thinks for a long time and then declares that last week he had to do such and such

PSYCHOANALYSIS

a thing at such and such a place, but forgot. Now imagine a person who is forgetful, remembering what happened last week! In the final analysis there is but one kind of forgetfulness, organic forgetfulness. If one forgets in any real sense of the word he has some organic brain trouble which can be diagnosed by a physician or neurologist in about ten minutes. If there is no organic condition, his so-called forgetting may be ultimately reduced to two causes: first, that he really did not wish to remember what he claims he "forgot"; secondly, that he either never knew it or that he never considered it important enough to know. Eliminating the second factor, we find when we ask ourselves why we have forgotten to do something, that we did not wish to do it, that there was something in that particular act that was unpleasant or disagreeable. Think for a moment about the letter that you forgot to mail; it is probably a letter some one has asked you to mail and you did not have enough courage to refuse; or it may perhaps contain a check with which, though perfectly honest, you hated to part. Shall I assure you that in nine cases out of ten it does not contain a bill? We never forget anything that we feel is important. I dare say, you will not carry a love letter in your pocket for days and forget to mail it. Some of you, I am sure, will hasten to remind me that when you were in college you knew one hundred trigonometrical formulas and that now, strange to say, you do not know one. But did you ever really wish to know them? You had to know them and just as soon as the examination was over you did not care to know them any longer. There is an important point here for pedagoggs, it seems to me. What we really like we do not have to memorize. If you desire a child to remember some subject matter make it so vitally interesting that he will be very glad and anxious to remember it. It is a platitude to say that anatomy is a dry subject and yet I once had an instructor who

taught it in such an absorbing, fascinating way that students came to his courses quite voluntarily. When one likes and enjoys the subject he teaches, he can transfer his interest in it to others. In psychic studies, the axiom is: like emotions beget like emotions. When you "forget" anything, then, it is either because you have never known it, and so there is really no reason why you should know it; or, if you had known it well and now find that you cannot recall it, because it is essentially connected, directly or indirectly, with something disagreeable and painful. The mind is always protecting us from pain by pushing whatever is disagreeable and unpleasant into the unconscious.

Psychoanalysis reveals that the various psychopathological actions are readily explainable on a psychological basis. Whatever we say or do must have a reason and can usually be explained without resorting to such superficial considerations as "absent-mindedness" or the like. The Scottish professor, who, on a momentous occasion, removed his every-day clothes and instead of dressing for dinner went to bed, cannot be excused on the ground of "absent-mindedness." We must assume that he really preferred to go to bed than to the dinner, for any one who looks forward to a dinner of some importance will not forget and go to bed. It is such "little" things that disclose the individual's real motives and give us the key to the more complicated mental activities. There is a physical reason for a person who has an organic brain disturbance to forget what he has once well known, but if he shows no such disturbance there can be no other than a psychological reason for his lapse of memory.

When I was an interne in the Clinic of Psychiatry at Zurich, I had an interesting experience in forgetting a name which I may say finally converted me to Freud's teachings. At that time, I was not fully convinced of his theories, and

PSYCHOANALYSIS

my attitude was skeptical though by no means unsympathetic. I approached the whole subject in the spirit of an investigator

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getting** and student who made every effort to discover and understand all the data before passing final judgment on his psychology. Spurred on by Professor Bleuler, all the physicians in the hospital were firm and ardent workers with the new theories. In fact, we were in the only hospital or clinic where the Freudian principles were applied in the study and treatment of patients. Those were the pioneer days of Freud among psychiatrists, and we observed and studied and noted whatever was done or said about us with unfailing patience and untiring interest and zeal. We made no scruples, for instance, of asking a man at table why he did not use his spoon in the proper way, or why he did such and such a thing in such and such a manner. It was impossible for one to show any degree of hesitation or make some abrupt pause in speaking without being at once called to account. We had to keep ourselves well in hand, ever ready and alert, for there was no telling when and where there would be a new attack. We had to explain why we whistled or hummed some particular tune or why we made some slip in talking or some mistake in writing. But we were glad to do this if for no other reason than to learn to face the truth.

One afternoon when I was off duty I was reading about a certain case which recalled to my mind a similar one I had when I was in a hospital here in New York. I am in the habit of making marginal notes and so I took up my pencil to write down the case, but when I came to note the name of the patient whom I had known for a number of months and in whom I had taken an unusual amount of interest, I found that I could not recall it. I tried very hard to bring it back to my mind, but without success. It was strange and puzzling; but as I knew definitely whom I meant I finished

the note. Now according to Freud, I thought at once to myself, the name must be connected with something painful and unpleasant. I decided right there and then to find it by the Freudian method. As I have already told you, it consists essentially of freely or spontaneously associating until finally the disagreeable element is brought to the surface. It was my Sunday afternoon off and I had been looking forward to it with no little eagerness. The weather was clear and bracing and I was very anxious to be out in the open; besides I had an appointment in the town which I did not like to break. But I was so eager to utilize every opportunity to test the Freudian theory, that I at once took down one of those long yellow pads we used to use and began to write down my associations.

Now the patient whose name I could not recall was the same man who some years ago attempted to set fire to the St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York; he gathered together some odds and ends before the entrance of the church and set fire to it. He was of course arrested, brought to the psychopathic pavilion in Bellevue and later to the State Hospital where he became my patient. I diagnosed him as a psychic epileptic. I decided that he suffered from a form of epilepsy which does not manifest itself in fits, as the general cases do, but rather in peculiar psychic actions which may last for a few minutes or hours or perhaps for weeks, months or years. Nobody agreed with me in the diagnosis; my senior doctor held that the patient suffered from dementia praecox. I was firmly convinced, however, that my patient was what I designated him, for there are a great many epileptics who, instead of having the physical paroxysms which are usually associated with epilepsy, have what we call psychic equivalents, by virtue of which they go through all manner of complicated psychic experiences. They become dazed and unconscious and lose track of their old self; they

are then virtually different personalities and they may commit all sorts of crimes in their new person. I have actually known of murders committed and houses burned by people of this type. One man was reported to have killed his entire family, father, mother and six brothers in a fit of this kind; and when he came to himself again he was not at all aware of the horrors that he had perpetrated.

Within a week or so the patient recovered and was entirely normal, thus corroborating my diagnosis in every respect. The patient told us that this was his fifth attack and that in some of his previous ones he had burned a railroad station, a church and several barns. He would run away from home, his wife and children, and wander off, scot-free, when one of these fits came upon him. He was an editor of a journal and newspaper in Canada, a man of considerable intelligence and refinement. On one of his attacks during the Boer war, he ran away from Canada and came to London, where, seeing calls for volunteers, he enlisted and was sent to South Africa. He fought bravely and was promoted to sergeant in a few weeks. When he came to himself, he was quite surprised to find himself a soldier and did not have the least idea how he got to South Africa. Previous experience told him, however, what his condition meant and upon reporting it to the physicians, he was honorably discharged. He sent a cable to his wife and returned home. He gave us various details about himself, the hospital where he found himself last, his former doctor, all of which we were soon able to corroborate. He had what we called a "fugue" or "poromania." Cases like this have been reported where the person disappeared for as many as three years. Indeed, they are not as rare as you may suppose.

Everybody congratulated me on my diagnosis, and I myself was greatly elated. The superintendent assured me that I had all good reason to be proud of myself and he went

on to state, to my profound disappointment and displeasure, that he would report the case to a medical society. I had spent a tremendous amount of time and effort on it and desired to publish it as my first contribution to medical literature. But he was the superintendent of the hospital, I was merely a practicing doctor; and so there was nothing else to do but face the situation with a stout heart. "Very well, sir," I said, but I felt quite differently, of course. When I told my colleagues about it they thought it was a huge joke; some of them even ventured to assure me that I had all good reason to be happy, for was I not saved the trouble of reading the paper before the medical society? A few days before the meeting, the superintendent asked me to bring him my prepared paper, but when I read it to him, he found himself face to face with an embarrassing situation. He asked me where I had gotten my numerous references, for I quoted from Italian, German and French sources, and when I went on to say that they were from the original and not mere translations, he felt reticent and faint about reading the paper as his own, for he could neither read nor translate these languages. "Now, I'll tell you, Brill, you had better go there and read it yourself," he said. I was very much pleased at this and felt quite relieved. But I soon learned that the programs were already printed and that the superintendent was down for reading the case. I went before the society and everybody thought it was the superintendent's paper and that he sent me merely to read it for him. You may realize how deeply I felt about the whole affair. Finally, to cap the climax, after I had read the paper, an editor of an obscure Medical Journal asked me for it for publication in his journal. I refused and told him that I would have it sent to a journal of neurology or psychiatry. But he lost no time to speak to the superintendent about it, with whom he had considerable influence, and I was soon

compelled to give him the paper with as much grace as I could then command. Now I am dwelling quite at length on the phase of the situation because I would like you to note carefully that there was enough of the disagreeable and unpleasant associated with the whole experience to account for my forgetting the name of the patient.

For hours at end I sat there writing down the associations, but I was not a whit nearer to knowing the name than when I began. Various details and incidents came swarming into my mind and I had to write mighty rapidly to keep pace with them. I could see clearly how this New York patient looked, the color of his hair, the peculiar expression on his face. I became discouraged and thought to myself, "if that is the way to find a thing through the Freudian method, I shall never be a Freudian." It was now evening and one of my colleagues, surprised to find me indoors, asked me to make his rounds for him inasmuch as I was not going out. I consented gladly, for I was tired of these Freudian labors. But when I was done, I felt refreshed and returned to the associations with renewed interest. At eleven o'clock I was still in as much darkness about the name as before. I went to bed disheartened and thoroughly disgusted with the whole affair. At about four o'clock in the morning I awoke and made a supreme effort to dismiss it from my mind, but in vain. Nolens volens, I soon began to associate in bed, and finally, at about a little after five, the long-sought name suddenly came to me. My joy and elation was not at all free from a sense of relief; it was as if I had solved a long vexing problem. I have no doubt now that had I not been able to find it, I probably would never have continued to take the slightest interest in Freud. I spent so much time and effort in trying to ferret it out that I felt quite out of humor with myself; but I was well compensated no less by the sense of pleasure and satisfaction that went with

the discovery, than by the fresh conviction it gave me in Freudian psychology.

Now what was the situation? Let me say first that when you begin to associate freely, you will soon be surprised to find that thousand of associations begin pouring in upon consciousness. Sometimes, three or four of these associations come at the same moment and you pause and wonder which one to write down first. You soon make some selection and continue. In my own case, I observed that a few very definite associations kept on recurring continually. Every time I asked myself the name of this New York patient, there would invariably come to my mind the case of a real epileptic I then had in the Zurich hospital. His name was Appenzeller, he was just a Swiss peasant, and I explained the association on the ground that they were both epileptics, the New York patient, as you remember, being a psychic epileptic. Another continually recurring association was this: When I thought of the hospital in Long Island and all that happened there during the five years I was connected with it, one particular scene would stand out very clearly and prominently; my mind would revert to it all the time. There were very often forest fires near the hospital and on many occasions we had to go out and check them lest they reached our buildings. This particular scene was on a Friday; there was a big fire raging near the hospital and we had to send out as many doctors and nurses as we could possibly spare to help control it. I was there to see that there was no confusion, that things were carried out properly; I was chatting with a physician who was with me in the same capacity. The fire was consuming a good deal of scrub pine; and now and then an attendant would succeed in shooting one of the rabbits that were fleeing from the brush wood. As I was standing there, the superintendent came up to us, passed some remark or other, and then spying

a rabbit some distance away, asked one of the attendants for his shot-gun to try his skill, saying: "Let's see if I can get that rabbit." We all looked on knowingly, for we never had very much faith in the superintendent's marksmanship, and no mistake, he missed his aim and the rabbit escaped. He turned to me and declared somewhat uneasily, and by way of explanation, that his fingers slipped, for it was beginning to rain. I seemingly concurred in the observation, but in my heart I smiled at his discomfiture. I could see him very plainly as he stood there, saying, "Let's see if I can get that rabbit," and he would then aim, shoot and miss it. Finally I saw the scene again in the morning, and with the words, "Let's see if I can get that rabbit," the name came to me. It was Lapin, the French word for rabbit. Later on when I actually counted my associations I found that this particular association came up twenty-eight times more than any of the others.

This may seem strange to you, but that is exactly the way the mind works unconsciously. The name was symbolically represented by the scene; the whole situation was under repression and that is the manner in which the unconscious elaborated it. The repressed emotion attached itself to an actual occurrence: the superintendent fails to shoot the rabbit; i.e., he fails to deprive me of the case. At the time of this incident I came from Paris and I tried not merely to talk French, but to think in French; and though I was in Switzerland where they speak Swiss-German, there were a great many people in my service from the French part of the country who spoke French. And so it was quite natural for the name to have thus presented itself in French guise. You can easily see also why I thought of Appenzeller. There was the sound association of the first part of Appenzeller, Appen, Lapin; and what is just as important, both patients were epileptics. You may thus see, first, that there

was something distinctly disagreeable and painful associated with the name, and secondly, that there was a definite symbolic expression of it in the form of a repressed emotion.

That the image of the superintendent's shooting at the rabbit should thus symbolically express the whole situation will not sound so strange to you when you understand what we mean by symbols. We may define a symbol as an imperfect comparison between two objects which in reality may have very little resemblance; it is nothing but a form of comparison. If you observe children as they grow up and learn to talk, you will find that they are always thinking in pictures or symbols. There can be no doubt that they do not think in the sense that we generally suppose, that is, in the sense of reasoning, but that they merely associate and compare. Numerous examples may be cited to substantiate this.

Symbols
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A little girl once pointed to her knee which was bruised by a fall and exclaimed to her father: "Papa, here is a 'babble.'" He was at first hard put to understand how she could think of calling the wound on her knee a "babble" because he knew that she called an apple a "babble." But upon a little reflection, he soon saw what she meant. The little girl was fourteen months old when she first began to see apples in an orchard in the country; she would try to pick up those that had fallen from the trees and would call them "babbles." Now you have all observed that an apple in falling from a tree receives what appears to be a wound, a sort of round dark yellowish mark. To the little child the contusion on her knee looked exactly like this mark, and so, by association, she called that, too, a "babble," but there was really no more real resemblance between the two than between Lapin, the name of the patient, and a real rabbit. We see this same phenomenon among grown-ups; when one

invents a new piece of machinery he always names it in terms of what he knows, or he may select its most important attribute or attributes and name it accordingly. Automobile means self-moving, "auto" and "mobile," but not everything that moves by itself is an automobile, so that the name of and by itself will tell very little indeed to a person who has never seen this horseless machine. This applies also to such names as hydroplane, aeroplane, and the like. The new invention was defined in terms of our previous experience.

I recall now a little boy whom I knew very well; he was only two and a half years old and he would come to my room and I would give him a pad of paper and a pencil to play with. One day he drew what appeared to be a little circle and came up to me and said, "Here's an automobile." He did in fact the very thing that the inventor or any intelligent grown-up person does; to him the wheel was the predominant and characteristic element in the automobile. Thus we see here a form of comparison, which is, in the final analysis, the sum and substance of all our thinking. When you declare, for instance, that you will think over some problem, you know very well from experience that if you wait a little while, you will be able to reach some sort of solution. In the final analysis, we are empiricists. Meanwhile it continues to revolve in your mind; the particular situation is juxtaposed to similar situations, the particular condition is contrasted with similar conditions. Finally you decide the problem; it is really decided for you. Of course, the nature of the decision depends entirely upon the type and character of the individual. As a physician, if I defer stating a diagnosis of which I am not sure, I am merely taking a little more time to compare the particular patient in question with many others whom, it seems to me, he resembles. Finally I reach a conclusion; the case is either of this type or is allied to it, because it is absolutely characteristic of it,

So, too, a tried and astute general can decide and act quickly, for his accumulated past experience affords him immediate basis for quick and sound judgment.

When my little boy was about three years old he was playing one day with a box of geometrical figures as used in a Montessori school. As you may know, these figures are all of jet black pasted on a white background. Pointing to one, he said, "What is this, Daddy?" I told him it was a triangle, to which he replied, "Then I'll sing a triangle," and he motioned with his arms in accompaniment. He then put it aside and inquired about another figure and when I told him it was a square, he said, "Then I'll sing a square." "And what's this, Daddy?" "An octagon;" and so he continued repeating in each case that he would play that particular figure. I was wondering how he came to this strange idea when I noticed that among the figures he took out of the box was the circle; in fact, judging by its position it must have been the first figure to be removed from the box. Now the jet black circle on the white background showed a close resemblance to phonograph records of which he was very fond, indeed so fond that he would even cry for them on many occasions. When he looked at the figure of the circle he undoubtedly took it for a phonograph record and after going through the movements of playing it, he took the next figure from the box. This, being the triangle, looked strange to him and caused him to ask what it was, but it did not interfere with the association already established in his mind. In his infantile mind he saw a resemblance between two things and straightway he transferred the significant attribute of the one to the other. He at once realized what seemed to him the essential similitude in a concrete case; he carried it, so to say, to its logical conclusion. We may see the same mode of association in modern art; the artist may say he has painted a nude lady walking down the stairs but,

what we may really perceive is but a conglomeration of geometrical figures. We have here an infantile expression on the part of the artist. The same process of thought can be observed in some modern music. I know a man to whom every song is a color, and every color a song; like my little boy who sang a triangle he is thinking in pictures or symbols. We see this same form of expression also in the dream.

Here is another little incident relating to my little boy that I feel is characteristic of the mode in which children associate ideas. When he was about three years old, he was attending a Montessori School; he was accustomed to be taken there in the morning either by the maid or by my wife. One day it stormed so very hard, that we could not get a taxi or take him to school under an umbrella. My wife was worried and wondered what to do, and I told her that I would carry him to school myself. I had him put his head on my shoulder and quickly we made our way in the heavy storm to the school building, which, by the way, was only a few blocks away from our home. He seemed to enjoy the experience immensely. About six months or so later it so happened that I had a little time and I said: "Shall I take you to school?" At once he answered: "Is it raining, Daddy?" I did not know at first what he meant but I soon saw its significance. In other words, to him at that time, the act of my taking him to school became associated with rain. Behaviorists have pointed out that animals think in the same way; it is indeed stupid to maintain that they do not reason; they merely have not as much brains as the human being, therefore, not as many associations. The same holds true in defectives, they have not as much wealth of associations at their disposal as the average individual. When we shall take up the association experiment I shall try to show you how we can determine by noting their associations, the mental deficiency even of those who are only slightly

defective, such as in morons, when the ordinary tests of the Binet-Simon type will not show anything.

Observe children who have not yet realized the nature of abstract ideas and you will find that they invariably express themselves concretely, by means of comparison. A little girl of three years old was once taken to the aquarium and she saw among other things, a seal, with whose characteristic alacrity of movement she was greatly impressed. A few days later she talked enthusiastically about all that she had seen there, and said among other things, that she saw a thing that went this way, and here she motioned with her hands the quick movements of the seal. She had forgotten its name but she remembered its important attribute. You have observed children very often say "by-bye," when they finish drinking their milk; it is the first word that they usually learn. The idea is suggested to them by the analogy to departure. One can always find a definite reason for the apparent incongruous expressions evinced by children. It is simply a question of tracing their mode of association or comparison between things. The same mechanisms are constantly seen in the bizarre behaviors of the insane.

There was a patient in the Psychiatric clinic at Zurich who would place folded rose petals against her forehead and hit them, thus producing a crackling sound. Nobody could fathom the meaning of this action until Professor Bleuler began to study her case thoroughly and found that she became insane upon her lover's committing suicide by shooting himself in the head. Thus her behavior in this particular instance was a symbolic representation of the shooting; she was reliving an old episode.

The infantile form of thinking through simple comparison becomes less apparent as age advances. The child gradually enriches his vocabulary to enable him to express words in the constant acquisition of new knowledge. He is compelled

to accept new terms for abstract ideas without resorting to conscious elaboration as he was wont to do in childhood. In his unconscious, however, the same process of imperfect comparisons prevail. That is why later in life such imperfect comparisons or symbols strike us as strange and foolish. When a grown-up hears her mother reminisce that as a little girl she said "la" when she meant "color," she not only experiences a feeling of strangeness but is also somewhat abashed at her former childishness, but the situation becomes clear when she consults her father's diary. She then finds that when she was ten months old her father gave her a pad of paper with a pencil and encouraged her to scribble by drawing for her crude pictures of the house dog King. She soon learned her lesson and whenever she saw her father with the pad she would point to it and say "la" which meant "draw." La was one of the few syllables she could utter at that age. Later when she could call King "Thim," she would often say to her father "La Thim," which meant "draw a picture of King." Still later "La" not only meant to write or draw but also became identified with color, undoubtedly because some of the pencils she used were colored, so that when a multicolored ball was given her for the first time, she immediately designated it as "La ball," in contrast to the plain white ball with which she played for some time. Such symbols constantly recur in dreams and in other productions of unconscious mentation, but as we are usually ignorant of their origin they strike us as mysterious and foreign.

So words uttered or written are nothing but symbols of actual activities. The alphabet originally consisted of symbols; the addition of vowels and consonants was a much later development. In the Hebrew alphabet, for instance, which is a direct descendant of the Phœnician or first known alphabet, the *alef* represents graphically an ox and the *beth*

a house. So, too, the Chinese ideographs and the hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians are also symbolic representations of definite objects.

We find also certain characteristic symbols among all nations. We, for instance, have the eagle as an emblem; the Romans, as you know, had the wolf; the English the lion, etc. It is also interesting to note that the guilds the world over had special symbols for the various trades, some of which still survive, the barber's pole and the pawn broker's sign, for instance. It is interesting to note also that the barber's pole was originally white spotted with red that signified blood, for in the old days the barber was a sort of half-doctor, performing such operations as blood letting and cupping, for instance; and indeed, he is still regarded as such in Russia and some other European countries. I am sure you are all also aware of the symbolic significance of colors; green, as you all know, signifies hope, red love, yellow jealousy or cowardice. In the same way, too, there is not a word but that has a definite symbol, and it is instructive to note how the original symbol is in time distorted. Examples of this are legion. You may all know, I am sure, that the word person is derived from the Latin *per sonna* which means through a mask; originally an actor performing before a large audience used a megaphone to make his voice carry, but as it was somewhat ludicrous and unesthetic to have him strut about the stage with a megaphone, it was found best to conceal it under a mask. Likewise, imbecile at present denotes a person who is mentally weak. Originally it signified merely physical debility or more particularly, a person walking on a cane.

Now there are certain symbols that are ethnic; they resemble certain things to such an extent that you find them wherever there is an unconscious mentation. Mythology and primitive religions particularly abound with them, for in

this sphere of mental activity we find the human being in yet an infantile condition; the difference between reality and fiction is not yet clearly marked. We note here, as in the dream, the preponderance of sex symbols. Indeed when one delves into the mainsprings of primitive religion, one finds that it is centered entirely around sex; it may be said that all our religions are intrinsically precipitates or extracts from the original Phallic worship.¹ In every Hindu temple even to-day, for instance, the altar is made up of the "yoni lingam" which is only a union of the male and female genitals on a pedestal surrounded by a snake which euphemistically is a symbol of eternity. Those students who have delved deeply into the subject have pointed out, however, that the snake is really a symbol of the male genitals. Primitive man before he knew enough about the principles of biology could only think of one thing, that the genitals, because they produce life, were symbols of life; and that is why they were carried in procession and worshiped. And what is unusually interesting is that you find this same symbolic expression even to-day. When we examine the language that we find in dreams, deliria, hallucinations, and delusions, we are at once impressed with that fact; our unconscious mentation is still swathed in the mystery of this time-old symbolism and it is altogether inscrutable to one who does not understand the language of the unconscious.

There are many symbols that have lost their original meaning for us to-day, though they are still commonly used under different forms. It is noteworthy that the cross was originally a Phallic symbol and like so many other symbols, was absorbed into Christianity from Paganism. St. Paul and other leaders of the Christian Church apparently deemed it best to allow these Pagan symbols, gradually giving them,

*Richard Payne Knight, "Two Essays on the Worship of Priapus," Privately Printed, London, 1865.

however, different connotations. As has been well pointed out, "the church has played a double part, a part of sheer antagonism, forcing heathen customs into the shade, into a more or less surreptitious and unprogressive life, and a part of adaptation, baptizing them into Christ, giving them a Christian name and interpretation and often modifying their form."¹ Thus Christmas, which was originally a Pagan holiday full of many primitive symbols, was transferred to Christianity and gradually acquired an altogether different significance; and that is why we may still see traces of the old celebration of the Roman kalends and Saturnalia in a great many of the ceremonies that go with Christmas, particularly in Greek churches in the Orient.

It perhaps may have occurred to you to inquire why the snake should be a symbol of the male genital. In the light of what I have already told you about the nature of thought processes, the reason is not far to seek. Though there is no resemblance between the snake and the male genital to the conscious eye, there is nevertheless a hidden, suggested similarity between them sufficient, at any rate, for the unconscious to draw the analogy.² The story of Adam and Eve now takes on its real allegorical significance. Adam and Eve represent the infancy of humanity, when it was untroubled, naked and free; when it was in paradise. Then comes the snake, the symbol of sex, and the situation takes on an altogether different aspect. In other words, the child in its infancy is in paradise, but as soon as it grows to the age of puberty, it is driven out of paradise and must now "live by the sweat of the brow." The story becomes perfectly comprehensible to us in this light.

Thus far, then, I have tried to make clear to you how the

¹ Cf. Miles, "Christmas."

² Dreams about snakes are very common and we must guard against the conclusion that the snake necessarily signifies the male genital in every case.

unconscious mental activity consists essentially of comparison, and how the results of this comparison by reason of their peculiar symbolic character are naturally not quite clear to the conscious mind. Consciously, for instance, you can tell a potato or an apple just at a glance, but in the unconscious or in mental confusion you may associate a host of other things with their more or less characteristic qualities of roundness, smoothness or color, before you will know that it is the one or the other. We find a similar state in clouding due to some organic brain disturbances, such as aphasia, in which certain fibers of the brain tissues are destroyed through a hemorrhage, for instance, and the brain as a result cannot function normally.

In brief, a symbol is simply an analogy between impressions of the present and past and depending upon the individual it is either simple or complex.

Besides the form of forgetting already considered, there is another form which we find in what we call "concealing memories." The latter are really not lapses but distortions of memory. We encounter them when we begin to investigate how far back into life the memory can go. Ask people what they remember of their childhood and it is remarkable

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Memories to see how little they can tell you; indeed, some will say that they can recall nothing. You will be furthermore impressed with the comparative insignificance of the reproduced material, which is surprisingly trivial in character and seems to have little or nothing to do with the individual's life. The earliest recollections seem to preserve the unimportant and accidental, whereas, usually, though not universally, not a trace is found in the adult memory of the weighty and affective impressions of this early period. An individual recalled, for instance, that his father lifted him up to a bird cage; one man told me some

time ago that he remembers that his mother found a cent,—and nothing more. Examination shows that these indifferent childhood memories owe their existence to a process of displacement, by which we mean a deflection of a certain amount of energy to some extraneous material, to an idea or emotion to which it really does not belong. We observe the phenomenon daily. A man may have quarrelled with his wife, for instance, and now relieves himself of his ire by finding fault with his stenographer's spelling and discharging her. These memories represent in the reproduction the substitute for other really significant impressions whose direct reproduction is hindered by some resistance. They owe their existence not to their own content, but to an associative relation of their content to another repressed thought and are therefore justly called "concealing memories." They themselves are not important, but they conceal something. The individual whose father lifted him up to a bird cage did not remember the experience because of its importance, but because there was back of it something that was repressed and was now concealed under that memory.

The content of the concealing memory seems to belong to the first years of childhood, but the thoughts it represents belong to a later period of the individual in question. Freud calls this form of displacement retroactive (acting backward) or regressive. The reverse relationship is more often found, that is, an indifferent impression of the most remote period becomes the concealing memory in consciousness which simply owes its existence to an association with an earlier experience, against whose direct reproduction there are resistances. These are called encroaching or interposing concealing memories. What most concerns the memory lies here, in point of time, beyond the concealing memory. They all show a remarkable resemblance to the forgetting of proper names and faulty recollections, as for

PSYCHOANALYSIS

instance, in the case of "Lapin," where I thought of "Appenzeller." These new names or memories that encroach upon our consciousness when we try to recollect the original one are always in some way related to the real memories that are behind them.

The question as to how far back into childhood our memories go has been investigated by many writers. They found that there is a wide individual variation, inasmuch as some trace their first reminiscences to the sixth month of life, while others can recall nothing before the sixth or even eighth year. Simple questioning is not enough, as everyday experience in psychoanalytic work demonstrates. The results should later be subjected to a study in which the person furnishing the information must participate, that is, the memories should be analyzed. For the infantile amnesia, that is, the failure of memory for the first years of our lives should not be accepted as a matter of course. We should remember that a child of four years is capable of great intellectual accomplishments and complex emotional feelings. I have seen children of that age fall in love. Dr. Sanford Bell of Clarke University has found this amorous disposition to exist even at the age of two. It is really remarkable how little of these psychic processes have as a rule been retained in later years and yet we have every reason to believe that these forgotten childhood activities have not glided off without leaving a trace in the development of the person. We must remember that a person is always the product of the sum total of his impressions and that it is absolutely impossible for him to cut out a period, or block, as it were, of his life and go ahead. There is no break in the continuity of the psychic life. I have found that many individuals who declared they had not the faintest memory of their early childhood experiences, had really accomplished in that early period many significant

things, which were gradually revealed in dreams or casual associations and which were later corroborated by the diary kept by the parent. Perhaps the most interesting case of this kind was that of a man whom I analyzed for six months, during which he brought to the surface many things which we felt were probably true. After five months he received a letter from his father in which the latter stated that he was sending him under separate cover a diary that the parent kept from the day of the patient's birth until the age of about thirty. We were very glad to receive it, and it has given me much pleasure, because it has confirmed practically everything concerning which we entertained any doubts. In some cases it is remarkable how special incidents are corroborated. A man whom I am treating at present visited the nurse whom he had from the age of one and a half to eight. She related experiences of his early childhood that he never knew anything about, and here, too, her information corroborated everything that I assumed on a theoretical basis.

As I pointed out, children take up impressions from the very beginning of their existence. As time goes on, Locke's "*tabula rasa*" becomes more and more filled with them, and like a book, the older the individual, the more voluminous it is. These traces of early life always remain and because they are subjected to repression, they come to the surface more or less disguised and incomplete; they are falsified or displaced in point of time and place. Motives may be discovered, however, which explain these disfigurements and we find that these memory lapses are not the result of a mere unreliable memory. Powerful forces from a later period have molded the memory capacity of our infantile experiences, and it is probably due to these same forces that the understanding of our childhood is generally so very strange to us.

A case of "concealing memories" reported by Professor Freud is that of a young man who declared that he remem-

bered seeing himself standing by the side of his aunt and asking her the difference between the letter m and the letter n. There was no reason why he should remember this particular experience, except in that it concealed something else vastly more significant and important. The thoughts represented by the memory concerned itself with his wish later in life to know the difference between a boy and a girl; he wanted his aunt to tell him the difference, but he dared not broach the subject. Later on, however, he found that the difference was very similar to that between the letter m and n; one has one stroke more than the other.

One of my patients informed me once that his memory went back to the time of his baptism, when he was about a week old. He maintained that he distinctly remembered the house and the stairway leading up to the first floor where he was supposed to have been baptized. He particularly recalled a lamp standing at the foot of the stairs and the minister who performed the baptism, a tall man in a black frock coat. He remembered vividly how his head was totally submerged in a basin of water. I was naturally skeptical and explained to him that I thought it was a concealing memory which probably hid something else of a much later date. He then informed me that he had entertained this memory for many years, but that when he imparted it to his mother a few years ago she laughed, declaring that there was no truth in it, that in the first place, he was not born in this particular house, but that he had merely lived there from the age of four to six, that she could not recall this particular lamp, that the minister who really baptized him was not tall, and what was more, that the baby's head is not submerged in a basin of water during baptism. Notwithstanding his mother's absolute denial, the patient continued to entertain this memory; he strongly felt that it was true despite all facts to the contrary. I called his attention to the

fact that his mother had no motive for denying it and that so far as I know, it would be impossible to retain anything from so early an age. We then proceeded to analyze it. He stated that the most vivid element in the memory was the lamp and so I asked him to concentrate his attention on it and give me his associations. He could see the lamp at the foot of the stairs, the stairway, and the room on the first floor. He then recalled that at the age of about five years he was standing one afternoon in that room watching a Swedish servant who was either on a high chair or a step-ladder cleaning the chandelier. He became very inquisitive sexually and made a great effort to look under her clothes. She noticed it and gave him a very strong rebuke. He then recalled that a few years later he watched through a keyhole to see his mother dress, and somehow she caught him and punished him very severely for it. He was very much humiliated, for she took him downstairs to the dining room and told his father and brother what he had done. At about the same age, probably a little before this episode with his mother, he was on the roof one evening and spied a woman undressing in a house across the street. In his great excitement, he ran down to call his brother, but when he returned the woman had already slipped a nightgown on and was now pulling down the shades. He told me that for years he regretted that he went to call his brother. He kept on reproducing more scenes, all of which dealt with frustrated sexual looking.

We must remember that sexual curiosity is a very common, indeed, I may say, a universal mechanism in all children who are brought up as the average parents bring them up to-day, without answering their questions, imparting to them nothing of the vital knowledge for which they crave. Children perpetually ask questions, and if these are not answered, they develop a strong inquisitiveness for look-

ing, particularly in homes where the mother is prudish and takes every opportunity to conceal and thus impress upon the child's sensitive mind that there is something to be hidden. If it is for nothing other than the exercising of the faculties of intellect, the child possesses here already sufficient material to become inquisitive. But consider also the presence of the biological factor; nature has endowed every human being with the desire to know about sex because the latter is a tremendously important problem in life. The lamp, therefore, represented in the psychic life of this patient a contrast association of darkness which stood in the way of his sexual inquisitiveness. That is why the lamp element was so accentuated in his memory.

The question now presents itself, "Why did he remember the fact of his baptism?" This young man is a good Christian, his parents are Christians, but his paternal grandfather was a Jew. He himself shows no traces of Semitism; the only thing he retains from his grandfather is the name. It is a German name which is often mistaken for a Jewish one, and for this reason, it has given him considerable trouble. He was refused, for instance, admission to a certain school because of his name. At college it was suspected that he was Jewish and on that account he failed to be elected to a fraternity that admitted only Gentiles. The concealing memory of his baptism is thus a compensation for his suspected Judaism and that is why it retained its vividness, his mother's denial to the contrary. He had to be assured that he was baptized and therefore was a Christian. On the whole, the memory represents a religious scene in order to hide an immoral scene of marked affective content. At the age of puberty there was a complete repression of all sexual elements, and he became a model boy in every way. He is now over thirty-six years old and has never had any kind of relations with the opposite sex. He

is a shy, seclusive, reserved personality and is remarkably ignorant of everything sexual. This is only a reaction to his early immorality, and was affected by the various shocks or set-backs he sustained in his effort to adjust himself to his adult sexuality. Had his mother realized at the time she caught him peeping that his inquisitiveness was only an expression of his budding sexuality and had she explained to him in a frank, sympathetic way that it was not nice for a little boy to do this or that, he would probably have been able like his brother to adjust himself normally, to find a mate, and marry. But as it is, his parents regretted to the day of their death that they could not see him married.

Thus what we generally look upon as forgetting is not that at all; certain things are merely pushed into the unconsciousness, because of something unpleasant associated with them; we are not aware of them consciously and so we naturally presume we have forgotten them. We may crowd out something from consciousness, but we never forget it; it always remains in the unconscious. What profound truth in the observation of an old Greek philosopher who, when called upon to teach one the art of remembering replied: "Rather teach me the art of forgetting!"

CHAPTER IV

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

WE do not have to go far to be convinced how significant a role the unconscious plays in life. The proof is at our door. All the "little" mistakes that we all are constantly making, lapses in talking, writing, etc., our so called forgetting and absent-mindedness show very definitely to what a surprising extent our thoughts and actions are influenced by the unconscious. If we have our eyes open, examples of such unconscious manifestations may be found on all sides. I shall cite some to you out of a vast number that have come to my attention from time to time, and I hope they will prove sufficiently interesting to stimulate you to observation in your own daily lives.

Mr. L., a newspaper man, once assured me that he could disprove Freud's theory of forgetting with very little effort.

Forget-
ting
Names He proceeded at once to tell me that he had occasion to write to his friend living in Boston, and upon addressing the letter he found he forgot his last name, and that it was only after a considerable amount of thought that he could recall that it was Murphy. He continued to declare quite warmly that it was strange and surprising that he should thus forget the name of a friend, formerly his school mate and chum, whom he could not associate with absolutely any disagreeable or painful experience. We proceeded to analyze the case. I asked him to tell me something about his friend whom he designated as Jack. He associated his name with Murphy of Tammany.

Hall and though the former was a Republican he felt that that was no reason why he should dislike the name Murphy. After associating for a little while, he ended by saying: "You see, then, doctor, there is absolutely nothing disagreeable connected with the name." But I urged him to continue his associations, and finally there came to his mind another Murphy who played an altogether different part in his life from that of his friend. The moment he uttered his name, I could see a marked change in his facial expression and voice; he became flushed with anger. This man deceived him and still owed him money, and L. hated him. That was sufficient to explain his temporary forgetting. He never had occasion to write to his own friend before, he always knew and thought of him as Jack and never associated him with Murphy; besides, his friend had no parents so that he had no opportunity to use his name even under other circumstances. We must remember that we think of a person in terms of the name that we call him by. On the other hand, there was the name Murphy which was associated in his mind with something distinctly painful, and it was therefore natural that when he came to write to his friend for the first time, he could not associate the disagreeable element in his repression with his name. That was why he was compelled to stop and recall it; he simply refused to give his friend a name that was connected in his mind with the painful and disagreeable.

We find the same mechanism in such episodes as this: A woman meets a friend of hers who married recently and instead of addressing her Mrs. Smith, calls her by her maiden name. When you investigate the mistake you discover that she has absolutely no respect for Mrs. Smith's husband, and what is more, she did not want her to marry him from the very beginning. We see this same thing when a woman refuses to use her husband's name. There is no other reason

than that of expediency why a woman should drop her own name; the practice of adopting the husband's name was inaugurated originally mostly for the sake of convenience; it eliminated various unnecessary complications. And as a matter of fact, there are still primitive tribes that continue the surname of the mother right through the family line. But if it is customary for a married woman to take her husband's name, we may safely say that it augurs little good if she persists in holding on to her own maiden one; it is particularly significant if she reverts to her own name, after having been accustomed to use that of her husband with whom she has lived for quite some time. A case like this was reported to me a few years ago in which a woman wrote a letter and instead of her marriage name signed her maiden one. I remarked then that it was a bad omen, and I know now that she is separated from her husband. It is a different matter when a married woman retains her maiden name because of some distinction or accomplishment to which she properly can lay claim. Here the purpose is to maintain whatever significance her special position may have, distinct and separate from her relations as wife. Among professional women, accordingly, it is common to retain the maiden name, and as far as I know, the husband does not seem to have any objection to it at all. We are always laying emphasis on the importance of individual cases; but we may safely say that as a rule when a married woman uses her maiden name, it means that in the unconscious she does not wish to consider herself married.

It is interesting to observe a further illustration of this principle in the substitution of another person's name for one's own. A few years ago I received a letter from a minister in Oklahoma, asking me to send him a list of books for reading along Freudian lines. The letter was type-written and there was at the bottom his name in hand-

writing, C. A. Brill. His real name was Beard and there was the irresistible conclusion that he signed my name because he considered me an authority on the subject, and unconsciously identified himself with me; he wished, one might say, to know as much about psychoanalysis as I did. When I related this incident to my class here, it was suggested that the letter may have been signed by the minister's stenographer, whereupon one of the students assured me that if I showed her the letter she would be able to verify the minister's signature, for she knew his handwriting very well. She came from the same state and knew him personally; and what was more, it was upon her suggestion that he wrote the letter to me. When she glanced at the letter she immediately recognized his signature. And so my conclusion was completely corroborated.

Now it was essentially no pleasant or agreeable motive that prompted him to make that error; there was the unconscious wish to eliminate what seemed to him a shortcoming, a condition of ignorance in relation to a subject which he consciously desired to know and understand. We find this same condition among neurotics. In treating them we often learn that they cannot pronounce certain words, particularly certain names. This whole motive of names plays a most fascinating part in mythology; discover the name in some fairy-stories and there is the greatest misfortune. You may very often find among neurotics that the only reason why they have difficulty in pronouncing and therefore stammer over some particular word or name is because there is something painful and disagreeable connected with it. I am going to illustrate this presently by a definite case of stammering.

By way of digression, perhaps, let us say at this point that it has been recognized by most students and observers that most cases of stammering are not due to organic con-

ditions, that indeed very few cases may be traced to some disturbance in the throat or vocal organs. It is essentially a neurotic disturbance that usually comes on at an early period in a nervous type of individual and then gradually assumes the character of a habit, in which form it continues in the future. In studying an abnormal condition, it is highly instructive to examine its normal counterpart. When do you stammer yourself? It is a common observation that upon being asked your age, you will never answer immediately. Some among us will even anticipate the next question and hasten to answer it. I have heard of a woman who was asked how old she was and after stammering for a while, replied quite blandly, "In Boston." She did not wish to reply, and at once turned her attention to the expected question as to her place of birth. But we show no degree of hesitation when we are called upon to respond to a question to which we have no resistance. When you ask a friend for a loan of ten dollars and he at once says, "Alright, have it," then he really wishes to give it to you; but if he pauses and says, "Now, let me think," you may be certain that he does not want to lend it. Invite a friend to dinner and if he stammers and stutters a reply, he is not anxious to go; there is a psychic impediment somewhere.

When we study speech disturbances we find that they have the same origin, they may be ultimately reduced to some very simple inhibition begun at a very early age. The child, for instance, may have done something that it knows it will be punished for; let us say it has stolen jam or candy. When questioned it will hesitate to speak but on being compelled to confess it will stammer on the significant word. In time this particular word or expression connected with the unpleasant episode gradually becomes generalized and the resulting condition remains more or less fixed. Now I do not wish that you get the impression that

stammering is a simple condition that may be remedied by merely probing its beginnings in the individual's psychic life; it is one of the hardest neuroses to cure and only few of those who receive treatment are ultimately in any real sense cured. But to get more or less successful results at all, one should combine psychoanalysis with vocal training, and continue the treatment for a long time. All my successful cases have been under my care at least a year, sometimes longer. This, of course, applies to those who began to stammer early in life, to the so-called congenital cases, though there are very few cases that I have seen in which the history reveals the condition from the very beginning. Patients of this type are difficult to cure, and every so-called remedy can be of only temporary benefit to them.

A very intelligent stammerer, for instance, came to me for treatment. He was a man of means and he had tried all sorts of methods; some of them were indeed very ludicrous. One man sold him some sort of appliance that the former maintained was sure to cure him, but it was merely a belt which the patient had to wear so tight around the waist that every time he uttered a word, there was no mistaking that he had it on. That distracted him, of course, and he talked fairly well for a while. But the remedy soon lost its magic potency; it is hard to say whether the belt stretched or his waist became thinner, but he soon began to stammer again. The sum and substance of the usual treatment that patients of this kind get at the various schools, such as stamping with the foot or speaking in a certain fluctuated way, consists entirely of this distraction principle; there is no doubt but what it helps them a little, but that of and by itself will not make for permanent results; the psychic factors in the case must always be dealt with.

Of course there are some patients who never stutter at all until they merge into a neurosis; these can be cured through

analysis; but they can derive no permanent help from mere training or distraction. The case of a man of this type came to my attention some years ago. He stuttered in different ways, with the arms, body and mouth. He could not touch a glass of beer or a plate of soup without a fatal result: his hand would turn down and the contents would be spilled. Of ice cream he could have as much as his heart desired, but for some mysterious reason, beer and soup were absolutely tabooed. He also stammered badly, and as his position demanded much telephone conversation, he was compelled to give it up. I treated him and he did very well; in the course of time he was able to drink all of soup and beer he wished, much to his great delight. But I could not make any headway with his stuttering and it finally occurred to me that there must be something definite connected with it. This was his history: He lived a sort of common law life with a woman for whom he sustained an apartment, while he stayed with his mother who was a religious Catholic. He introduced her to a friend of his with whom she presently fell in love and who offered to marry her. She consented and left her former friend. It was a terrible blow to the patient for he had really intended to marry her himself; and it was following this misfortune that he suffered his nervous breakdown. It occurred to me that his condition may perhaps be connected directly or indirectly with this experience. When I began to investigate the matter, I learned that he began to stutter with the sound of "k" or in other words with the sound of "ck"; but as "c" has two sounds, his condition soon spread to "s" and then to all words beginning with "k," regardless of whether it was pronounced or not, as for instance in such a word as "knife;" and so finally he seemed to stammer almost on every letter. I had noticed that he always referred to the particular woman in question as "that woman" and I decided to in-

vestigate the matter. But the moment I asked him what her name was he grew visibly affected, and declared excitedly that he could not tell me. I assured him that I asked the question out of no mere curiosity, but for a very definite and important reason. When he refused to give me the name, I closed the matter by stating that I could then do nothing for him under the circumstances, for there is a tacit understanding between me and my patients that they are to hold nothing back from me, that they are to be an open book to me, as it were. He was quite willing to leave me, particularly since he felt he was much better anyway. But in a few weeks he grew worse and returned to me. He then explained that in his anger he actually had vowed never to utter the woman's name again. I quieted him and assured him that I would take the sin upon my own shoulders. He finally was willing to tell her name if I promised him that I would not write it down. I readily consented and pointed out to him that, in my notes, I designated her as Miss W. Thus I finally succeeded in persuading him to disclose to me her name. It was Keith. I was now quite convinced why he stuttered; it was the sound of "k" which was under repression that was the significant factor in the origin of his condition. I concluded at once that if my theory was correct, he would now necessarily stutter on every word beginning with "w," for as I said, I substituted that letter for the "k" in the woman's name, and impressed it upon his mind when I showed him the substitution in my notes. About a week later he told me that he was otherwise appreciably better but that his speech impediment was growing worse; he proceeded to state that now he was not able to pronounce even his brother's name; and upon inquiring what it was, he stammered out the name "W-W-W-William." To be sure, the moment it became intimately connected in his mind with the name of Keith in the substitutive relation

noted, it was at once tabooed and repressed. After I explained to him the deeper meaning of these psychic processes he gradually began to improve in his speech and finally recovered.

To return to the psychopathology of forgetting names. Here is an interesting lapse of memory that was brought to my attention by one of my patients. She told me she was trying to think of a name of a small town near White Plains and that the first name that came to her mind was "Prudence." She knew that was not the name of the place, but after thinking for a long time she finally found it; it was "Purchase." Analysis revealed that she was a woman who always had differences with her husband about her expenses. One of her great interests in life was to purchase things and she had to try very hard to live within her means, for her husband was often unable to pay all the bills that she ran up. Thus the moment she wanted to think of the name "Purchase," there at once came to her consciousness a repressed and painful element followed directly by the word "Prudence" denoting, to be sure, a good New England virtue which teaches one to live frugally.

Here is another case related to me by a friend of mine. He recently met a young lady in a cafe with whom he was evidently very much impressed; she was the type of woman that he liked. He engaged in conversation with her and when she left, they exchanged names. To her query whether he will remember her name, he answered pleasantly and positively: "Why, of course I will!" Her name happened to be "Raub." In speaking of her the next day to his intimate friend, he referred to her quite unconsciously as Miss Braun. When his friend betrayed utter ignorance as to whom he meant, he paused, thought a while and soon saw his mistake. As you see, "Braun" contains all the letters of "Raub" and when I asked him who this "Braun"

was, he immediately told me of an important and interesting character in the third volume of "Jean Christophe," who made a powerful emotional appeal to him and was more or less his ideal type of woman physically. Thus he unconsciously identified Miss "Raub" with this particular woman. But why should he change her name? In the first place, it did not appeal to him; it suggests in German the thought of stealing or plunder. But what is of greater significance, he is a literary man and identified himself with Romain Rolland as he has done on previous occasions with other authors. Like Jean Christophe who had that powerful love affair with Mrs. Braun, he too would have an amour with this Miss "Raub" and straightway the latter's name was changed. The whole mentation was absolutely unconscious. The significant element to observe here is the strong identification which played, also, so interesting a part in the case of the minister who identified himself with "Brill."

People very often take exception to this psychology and I have had many interesting experiences with skeptics. I once read a paper at the Academy of Medicine and there was a well-known professor of academic psychology present who took the opportunity to call me to account for the theory of forgetting of names. He declared that while reading a paper of mine on this subject it occurred to him that there was a stenographer in his college whose name he could never remember, and this, despite the fact that she has been there for a number of years, and that he has occasion to talk to her very often. And then he went on to state that it was not at all a peculiar name, that it was . . . and here he stopped, utterly unable to recall it. The audience smiled and then he said: "You see I have the bad habit of forgetting proper names. But I now have a mnemonic for this name, it is 'Watertown.'" He then stated that to test our theory he

resorted to the continuous association method à la Freud and there came to his mind first, Waddling, which he at once recognized as incorrect; the next associations were: "You are making a pun,—she is indeed far from Waddling." Here he interpolated the little remark that he always had the bad habit of making puns of persons' names, but, he continued, he was glad to say that he was gradually growing out of it. Then he thought of "Waddington" and after giving about ten associations, he said: "You see from my associations that there is nothing painful or disagreeable connected with this name." When my turn came to answer, I first made it clear that he did not associate long enough, for it often takes us hours to analyze a name. Then I asked his permission to take advantage of some remarks that he made and to make some impromptu analysis. In the first place, he informed us that he has the bad habit of forgetting all proper names. Though it is well known that we do not, as a rule, remember all names heard, nevertheless, when we meet some striking or important personality with whom we are impressed we almost invariably remember his name. Hence when a person asserts that he forgets all names, the only conclusion is that he finds no one in the world of sufficient importance to play a rôle in his life. This, I continued, was confirmed by the professor's remark that he had the bad habit of making puns of proper names, for here again we do this only with names of people for whom we have little regard. It is commonly observed among young boys and very intimate adults. Nevertheless he showed good psychological insight as he made an effort to overcome it, realizing that it was wrong. I am glad to say that the professor did not take my explanation amiss.

We find also the element of the unpleasant and disagreeable at the root of all deliberate changing of names. Note some instances. There was a business firm in New York

that was called "Yvel Jewelry Co." After a little thought, I realized that as its place of business was on Broadway, "Yvel" was preferable to "Levy." And so, too, when you see the name Honce and are quite sure that it is not Irish or Scandinavian, reflect a little and you will find that it is Cohen. There was a club here in the city that went under the peculiar denomination of the "Sesrun;" it used to baffle me before I became a Freudian; now I read it backward and know that it is the "Nurses'" club. It is said that the Damrosch family in New York was originally "Rothkopf," red-head, but as the latter was not quite euphonious, it was translated into original classical Hebrew. During the World War particularly, it was quite a common thing to change foreign names and I consider such a practice advisable and justified. It is undoubtedly highly desirable that we enter as far as possible into complete harmony with our environment, and I heartily disagree with the famous judge who did not approve of changing the name Beneditsky to Benedict, for instance. It seems to me that he showed a distinct lack of psychological insight. It is quite remarkable to observe that after going through this Americanization process the new name still shows its old origin. We have Hearst for Hirsch, Redstone for Rothstein, etc. The motive in changing the name is undoubtedly to eradicate the painful or disagreeable element that has become attached to it.

It is interesting to note that among primitive people, names are often changed on religious grounds. In one of Ibanez's short stories, the author refers to the practice, common among Jews, of changing a sick child's name; the little girl's name in the story is changed from Bona Hora to Luna; the thought is that the angel of death will thus be unable to find it. As you see, it is the same mechanism; there is

fundamentally something painful and disagreeable connected with the name.

I have recently learned from a work by Capt. Bodeson that the same practice is found also among some tribes in Indo-China. When a child is born among some of the savages in Indo-China that appears to be weak and sickly, they call it by some such name as "Bat," "Distress" or "Agony;" if it is fair and pudgy they may call it "Peace" or "Gold" or "Flower." Whenever a child outlived one or the other attribute they changed the name accordingly. That is why historians sometimes find in documentary evidence names like Typhus I., Scarlet II., Cholera I. and the like. In brief, primitive people in history confirm our views by evincing the same mechanism underlying the giving and changing of names such as we find to-day in the examples that we have already noted.

I have given you some illustrations of how the unconscious mental activity manifests itself in the forgetting of names. There are also other mistakes that we commonly make in reading, writing and talking of no less interesting character, and it may perhaps be advisable to dwell on them for a little while so that you may thus get a little more insight into the deeper significance of these unconscious psychic manifestations.

One of my patients related to me the following experience: He knew a young lady from his earliest childhood and was ~~Lapses~~ deeply in love with her. He never failed to ~~in~~ invite her, together with her mother, to all his ~~Reading~~ and ~~Writing~~ college affairs. When he graduated, he took up engineering at Cornell and upon completing his course of studies, he naturally invited them to the commencement exercises. He wrote a very warm letter in which he stated, that he was very sorry that his fraternity had no chapter

house in Cornell and that he was therefore compelled to provide outside quarters for them. He continued as follows: "I am sorry that I cannot offer you the luxurious surroundings of a fraternity home, but I have engaged rooms at a hotel for you." But instead of that he wrote: "I am sorry that I cannot offer you the luxurious surroundings of a maternity home." Without being aware of the error, he mailed the letter. The girl's mother was highly indignant over this seemingly brazen directness, and at once returned it. He could not understand what occurred, but with the help of his room-mate, to whom he showed the letter, the mistake was quickly discovered. He then simply addressed a little note to the girl in which he expressed his hope that she did not take the matter in any ill spirit, but that she regarded it as merely a slip on his part. At any rate, mother and daughter came to the commencement. He asked me to tell him why he made the mistake and why the mother was so wrought-up over it. What was uppermost on his mind at the time of the incident was the fact that he was nearing the goal of his ambition, i.e., that he would soon be independent as an engineer and thus be in a position to marry. When he wrote maternity, he unconsciously expressed his deep regret that he was, as yet, not able to enter upon matrimony. The question why the mother reacted toward the letter in the manner she did was, of course, a little more difficult to explain. Though she realized very well that it was essentially an error on his part, she nevertheless could not ignore it for the simple reason that her mind was in a state of what we may designate, "complex readiness," or as it is called by Bleuler "complex Bereitschaft." It was incumbent on her to appear innocent and deeply touched, though she knew only too well what the young man meant. But in this way she only betrayed herself the more. That is how some apparently well-meaning people betray their

real state of feeling; they disclose their vulnerable point in their eagerness to conceal it.

I may perhaps make this a little clearer to you by an illustration. One of my patients was having an affair with a woman of questionable character and I urged him to drop it; I maintained with good reason that she was not faithful to him. He was loath, however, to do so, but intimated that he thought I was right and that if he himself had proof of it, he would have nothing more to do with her. One evening while they were both passing a certain hotel in New York, she paused and asked him to tell her what sort of place it was. He felt embarrassed, for it was difficult for him to answer the question, as it was distinctly a place of ill-repute. When he asked me to tell him its significance, I stated that, in all probability, she knows all about the hotel and frequents it herself and that in order to throw him off his guard she was constrained to inquire about it so that she may thus appear entirely ignorant on the matter. He was skeptical and replied dryly: "That's all theory." A few weeks later he had an appointment with her in the lobby of a New York hotel; after waiting for her a while, he was paged and informed that she could not meet him, as she had company at home whom she could leave under no circumstances. He was disappointed. It was raining and dreary, and feeling depressed he drifted into that same hotel about which she questioned him. He took a few drinks, and as he was standing there at the bar, chatting with the bar-tender, he presently saw the elevator descending and who, to his great surprise, should step out of it but his young lady and another man. That, of course, closed the whole affair. So, as you see, she had a complex readiness, and though there was not the faintest possibility of his suspecting her when they passed the hotel, she nevertheless suspected herself, and perforce, in-

directly and unwittingly expressed the suspicion that was on her mind.

Here is a mistake in talking related to me by one of my patients. She was present at an evening dance that continued until about eleven p.m., when everybody, of course, expected a more or less substantial repast. Instead, just sandwiches and lemonade were served, and the disappointment was as keen as it was general. It was at the time that Mr. Roosevelt was running for president; the guests were discussing politics with the host, when one of them, an ardent admirer of the Colonel, wished to say: "There is one fine thing about Teddy, he always gives you a square deal." Instead of that, he said: "There is one fine thing about Teddy, he always gives you a square meal." All were embarrassed but understood each other quite well.

Slips of this nature occur all the time. I was speaking once to a French patient, who had the annoying habit of wandering from the subject, meandering, then stopping and wasting a considerable amount of time. On one occasion I wanted to tell her to "go on," "avant," but instead I said, "good-by," "au revoir."

I have found myself making similar mistakes at various times. One of my patients who was very paranoid, really insane, consulted me about her condition and I advised her to go voluntarily into a hospital. She was quite willing to do so, but claimed that she had some complication that made such a step rather difficult. She had an apartment with some friends who would not let her go. I became impatient and said to her: "You are perfectly *incompetent* to take care of your own affair." I wanted to say "*competent*."

Another one of my patients, a young lady, had a bad habit of repeatedly using her powder puff in my office. I got tired of it in time and remarked that it must be some sort of symbolic action on her part. One day she came and

I noticed that she did not have her powder puff with her; she seemed to be rather dull and listless, and I remarked: "You don't seem to have brought along your mental *powder*." I meant to say, "your mental *power*." I really thought she could do so very much better with the aid of her powder puff.

Another young lady whom I treated was unusually liberal and lavish in the use of cosmetics. I had advised her to drop a certain young man; following her meeting with him she came for a consultation. I was naturally very much interested to know what had occurred, and I asked at once: "How did you make *up*?" I meant to ask: "How did you make *out*?"

I advised a woman against an amour she carried on with a certain man who lived in Baltimore. She promised me that she would never see him again. One day she told me that she was planning a little trip to Washington, and in the course of the conversation remarked, "I am going to do this, if my *pleasant* plan is successful." She wanted to say "*present*" plan. "You are anticipating very great pleasure in seeing again Mr. S." I added. "Oh, well, Doctor, you know I am sick and tired of not seeing him," she replied.

I once wrote a prescription for an elderly lady. My remarks were: "I am giving you thirty pills; I want you to take one three times a day after meals." Upon which she said, "Doctor, don't give me big *bills*, because I can't swallow them." Thereupon I asked her in a matter of fact way whether she thought I was overcharging her. "Oh, yes, Doctor, I really meant to talk to you about it; I can't afford to come to you," she replied. Of course she had no idea why I put the question, and had I not taken her mistake as an indication of her dissatisfaction with my charges, she probably would have left me.

A woman was given a telephone number by her friend

who suggested that she write it down lest she forget it. "Oh, no, I do not have to write it down, it is simple, number 1740; I can easily remember it by saying, seventeen which I am sorry I'm not, and forty which I regret very much I am." She nevertheless made sure and jotted it down. The next time she had occasion to call up her friend, she asked her maid to get the number for her, but when she was connected she found that she did not have the right person. She was cross and fretful, but it was soon discovered that instead of 1740 she gave the number 1704. Here, as you see, her mistake revealed her aversion for the number forty, and, on that account, therefore, she forgot it.

Mr. J. wished to call 648 Convent, but instead, called 648 Convict. The telephone operator, of course, insisted that he had the wrong exchange. He was calling up one of the commissioners of the state prison, in regard to a convict.

A friend of mine, a writer, in speaking about a certain book he was reading, observed: "This is the best book I have ever written." He wished to say: "This is the best book that I have ever read." The inference is that it was such an excellent book that he wished to be the author of it.

A woman who reproached herself for various sexual transgressions asked me once whether I had seen a play called the "Everlasting Madonna?" I told her that as far as I knew there was no such play on the stage at that time. "You mean, perhaps, 'The Eternal Magdalene,'" I said. She saw her mistake at once.

A pregnant woman came into a department store and wished to ask for a linen called "fruit of the loom." Instead, she asked for "fruit of the womb."

Here is an interesting lapse of memory related to me by a friend: "During the trouble with the St. Louis and San Francisco R. R., the bonds of the company fell in value, and as I had a few of them I was very much disturbed.

When I expressed my fears to an acquaintance, he explained to me that I had no reason to worry about the 4% bonds but that the 5% ones were now hardly worth half their value. As I did not know which I had, I immediately hastened to the safe deposit vault to find out. I requested the clerk to open the outer locker of box 170 in which I kept my bonds and other valuable papers. When he unlocked it, I inserted my own key into the box, but try as I would, I could not open it; the key did not seem to fit. I called the clerk, and after a number of unsuccessful attempts, he asked me whether I was sure that my box number was 170. I was very positive that the number was correct and was even angry with him for questioning me, for I had the box for the last ten years. I suggested that the key was perhaps bent; and he tried it with the duplicate key, but with no success. He finally decided to verify the number in the records of the bank, and what was my surprise when he came back and told me that it was 175 and not 170!" As you see, he was afraid that his bonds were the 5% issue; and as he had now good reason to dislike the number five, he immediately pushed it into the unconscious.

The following is a striking example of lapse in talking that came to my attention recently: A very methodical gentleman who was wont to make many Sunday afternoon calls was quite assiduously attending to this pleasant function one Sunday, when, as he was about to go home, he suddenly recalled a lady friend, living not far from his own house, and in his accustomed punctiliousness, he decided to pay her his last visit. He expected to stay a few minutes, when to his great dismay, the young lady, knowing quite well that he was of a musical temperament, declared very enthusiastically: "I must play something for you." Without remonstrance, she at once made for the piano and began to play. She played and played to the great despair of the gentleman

who was very anxious to get home to dress for dinner, for one thing, and then, too, because he suffered from extreme discomfort of a tense bladder. Finally, to his great relief, the young lady stopped playing, remarking quite proudly: "You know it took me a couple of weeks to memorize this." In his wonted urbanity, he wished to say, "Yes, you played it excellently and I can see that it is a very difficult piece to play," but instead of that he said: "Yes, you played it excellently and I can see that it is a very difficult place to . . ." Here the gentleman's state of mind, the discomfort of a full bladder, the desire to get home betrayed itself in his *lapsus linguae*.

In the first edition of my book "Psychoanalysis" there was a mistake in spelling about which I knew nothing until the second edition was published, when I received two letters from different people asking me to account for the misspelled word "omission." It was written with double "m," thus: "ommission." When I looked into the matter I found that the mistake was also present in the first edition, which appeared in 1912, and for which I was absolutely entirely responsible. The second edition, however, that came out a few years later, was read by a professional proofreader who as you know, is just an objective reading agent and so the responsibility for the error lay entirely with him. Now I thought to myself: "The stenographer, the compositor, the proofreaders and myself have made the same mistake. Why?" To understand the reason for it, you must know in what connection the word occurred. I quoted in the book a mistake that was made in the so called "Wicked Bible," printed in 1631, where instead of "Thou shalt not commit adultery" it stated, "Thou shalt commit adultery." The printer was fined and the Bible was confiscated; I added that the publisher had to pay a large sum of money for this "ommission." The explanation is that as there was a fine

in this case for an omission, my publisher gave me unconsciously an additional "m" for good measure, so to say. It was a purposeful, unconscious oversight on the part of every one who read the episode.

A Hartford, Conn., paper a few years ago made the error which gave rise to a great deal of animosity. It wished to say about a certain congressman that "it is unfortunate that Mr. H. G. is no longer a member of Congress." Instead it stated that "it is fortunate that Mr. H. G. is no longer a member of Congress." I have no doubt that the person who made the mistake really thought that it was fortunate that Mr. H. G. was no longer in Congress.

I reported a case of a newly married woman who, much to her displeasure, was compelled to typewrite her husband's manuscripts. Instead of going to church one Sunday morning, she had to sit there at the typewriter and her work was full of errors like these,—parson for person, bridle for bridal. You see what was on her mind. She simply gave vent to her real thoughts: "I am a bride and instead of taking it easy and going to church on Sunday morning, I am harnessed and have to work here."

A doctor once asked me to render him a favor and introduce a certain Mr. K. to him. I wrote him, saying: "I am very glad to do so, as Mr. K. had considerable experience *inn* this matter." He returned the letter with the request that I explain to him why I wrote "inn" and not "in." Mr. K. was very much addicted to alcohol and was always to be found in a certain inn which I knew very well and which I associated in my mind with a particular experience that occurred there in connection with him.

Some years ago I received the following: "Dear Doctor: After reading your valuable book 'Psychoanalysis' I beg to enclose a cutting from the New York *Times* dated 30 April 1916 containing the following passage which might interest

you: 'Declaring that international law is international *mortality*, Judge Gray of Delaware expressed belief etc.' Undoubtedly Judge Gray said *morality*, meaning that international law is intended for international welfare and happiness; however, the *Times*' reporter or printer unconsciously manifested by his mistake that international law as it stands to-day does not bring happiness and welfare to mankind (*morality*) but destruction and misery (*mortality*). This nicely bears out your contention that no mistake is utterly unintentional."

Note the following little slip: A woman writing to an acquaintance asking her for a loan of \$300.00 said, among other things: "I am *rolling* on you as a friend," instead of "I am *relying* on you as a friend."

There are also numerous lapses in reading that we frequently make. Let me give you an example. When on board a ship I once met a gentleman who was bitterly incensed at doctors. We managed to get along very well together, but every time he had the opportunity to knock the profession, he took full advantage of it. One day he imparted to me this bit of information with no little gusto:—"I just read a name of a doctor and it is the most appropriate name I have ever met; it is *Slayer*." The name strongly appealed to him. I asked him to show me the magazine where he read it and I soon discovered that it was "*Salyer*." In his complex readiness, he unconsciously distorted the name to suit his own feelings.

Besides the lapses that we have discussed, there are also symbolic actions which a person performs unconsciously and automatically and which he considers entirely accidental. Depending upon their mechanism they are either simple or complicated and manifest themselves in such unconscious mannerisms as playing

Other
Symbolic
Actions

with one's mustache, jingling of coins in one's pocket, disarranging or arranging of one's clothes. These acts always conceal a definite meaning, though it is a common observation that when people are questioned about them, they usually shrug their shoulders more or less indifferently and assure you that they were just playing. They are instructive to the physician who often gathers from them many valuable hints for the interpretation of symptoms; to the student of human nature they are replete with human interest, and writers like Dickens and Thackeray have described them quite at length and with considerable insight. The common observation that "actions speak louder than words" contains a deeper meaning than we generally suppose. An individual has two languages in which he expresses himself, one of which consists of these little actions of which he is entirely unaware. I recall a woman, for instance, who would invariably rub her hands on her lap in a characteristic fashion whenever she came to some matter that she did not wish to dwell on. In time I learned in that way just what she wished to disclose, and when I finished for her what she had begun to say, she would add, "Of course you know it, that's why I did not want to talk about it." As Freud has so aptly put it, "When the lips are mute, the fingers talk."

Some of these symbolic actions are, of course, very much more complex. A young lady, for instance, whom I have known, was unfortunate enough not to have good looks. It was one of the reasons why she was nervous. I tried hard to console her, and reminded her of Dostoyevski's contention that there is no woman that is ugly. She had no friends and was morose and depressed. It was at the time of the European war and one day she informed me that she had decided to go to France. When I asked her what she was going to do there, I learned that she was going to nurse

blind soldiers. You observe here the force of the unconscious, though she had no idea, of course, of the deeper significance of her decision.

One of my patients came to me one morning and I noticed that he was very irritable. When I inquired what had occurred, he at first declined to talk, but finally told me that he had just quarrelled with his best friend because of the manner in which the latter asked him to do something. Instead of "Please hang up my coat, John" his friend, he went on to say, just said, "Hang up my coat," and he felt that he should have been more polite. Now we must remember that whenever we find too much emotivity associated with an idea, there must of necessity be a good reason for it. To discover it we must track the emotion to its hidden sources. Analysis discovered that the patient happened to read in his morning's paper about a man who committed suicide by hanging himself; that brought back to his mind the skeleton of a similar experience in his own family, which I may say in passing, he did not disclose to me in spite of the fact that he had been consulting me for a few months. He was altogether unconscious of the family misfortune when he was bid to hang up his friend's coat but the word "hang" soon touched a sensitive spot in his psychic life, it struck a complex, and there at once followed a flow of repressed emotion. As you may see, the emotion attached itself to altogether exogenous psychic material, it was related to his friend's innocent remark only in respect of the mere association of the word "hang."

Losing is another interesting symbolic action. I know I will surprise a good many of you when I make the broad statement that we lose nothing that we really want. It is nevertheless true. No one likes to carry an umbrella or wear rubbers, and that is why such things are so often lost. Sometimes you leave or forget to take an article in a certain

place; this may mean one of the two things; either that you would like to come back to the place, in which case the article will serve as an excuse for your return, or that you know that it is quite safe there. A young girl told me recently that a young man asked her to keep his diploma for him. I remarked that she would have to be careful, and no mistake, the inevitable happened: the young man showed symbolically exactly where he wished to be. A man consulted me once, who carried a big, heavy overcoat on his arm. When he left my office, he forgot to take it and I called him back. Upon returning it occurred to him to inquire about something else he was anxious to know. When I was done, he left, again forgetting to take his coat, and when I now called him back for the second time, he exclaimed: "Damn my father-in-law, I have to carry this coat to his office." I have regularly quite a collection of these forgotten articles in my office; just at present I have among other things, a half dozen gloves, a number of pairs of rubbers, and the lining from a man's hat.

Mr. M., a landscape gardener, lost some beautiful photographs while I was with him on a train. Some time later I met the man who originally introduced me to him and I commented on the loss. "Oh, isn't that funny," he immediately interposed, "he lost them when he was with me also." I then had good reason to suspect that the photographs were not his own. The next time I saw Mr. M. I asked him whether they were really his own genuine work and he answered, "No, not exactly my work, because the people don't allow me to take a photograph of the work I had done on their estate, but they are almost the same as mine." He was a conscientious man and continued to lose them because he suffered from qualms of conscience.

Many times we lose things because we wish to make some sort of sacrifice. I have reported the case of a young woman,

who, while going shopping one day, threw away a ten dollar bill and only upon reaching the department store did she realize what she had done. She was a very ardent church member before she married, and was accustomed to donate liberally to the church. When she married, her husband, who was a bit tight, explained that inasmuch as times were rather hard, she had better not make any further contributions for the present. The ten dollars was the sum she was wont to give to the church in the past. When she threw it away, she thought unconsciously, "He does not permit me to donate it to the church, so that I'll just let some one find it and keep it."

Losing keys has also a definite symbolic import. I now recall the case of a woman at a western hotel who had the reputation of perpetually losing the key to her room; it seemed that every time she took the key out of the door, she lost it. On the other hand, she had the habit of not only locking her room, but also of barring the door with a trunk or a chiffonier so that it was thus locked the more safely. How are we to explain this peculiar condition? Analysis reveals that her losing the keys expresses her unconscious desire to have her room open all the time. But if that is so, why did she bar the door? Consciously, no doubt, she desired to have the door closed, but unconsciously there was a different set of forces operating. The motive that induced her to lose the keys is of such a nature as to repel her in conscious life. She was a young woman who had been separated from her husband, and there is no doubt that she was unconsciously disturbed by sex.

We may observe this same mechanism in the morbid fear of burglars. You may perhaps know that a great many women, as well as some men, are in mortal dread of burglars; particularly does this hold true of old maids. One of my patients of this type was a woman who resided in one of the

finest apartment houses in New York. Though she had a room right between her father's and brother's, she was nevertheless always afraid; it was a common practice for her, upon retiring, to look very carefully under the bed to make sure that no unwelcome stranger had perchance surreptitiously entered. As I have already said previously, whenever we see such marked emotivity, we must pause and ask ourselves what is its source. This woman herself realized how absurd was her fear. Indeed, when she came to me she said: "Doctor, you don't have to tell me that it is impossible for a burglar to get into my room, because I know that too well myself, but despite all that, I am afraid." We know that repressed desire is always at the root of a disproportionate amount of fear; there is repressed libido at the basis of a marked emotivity. Language has recognized this condition, when it associates the word "panic" with the sensual God, Pan. You can well imagine how a woman of her age, who has been brought up very prudishly, will repress a sexual thought or fancy the moment it enters her consciousness. But the "cosmic" sex energy is there and it is forever striving to come to the surface, much as her whole being revolts against it. The mind, under the circumstances, makes an interesting detour; the hidden wish to have a man illicitly in the bed chamber expresses itself in the fear of an intruding burglar.

In "collections" we see another common symbolic action. I am not referring to the collections of books, paintings and **collections** the like, engaged in by so called professional collectors. I am interested at present only in those collections that people generally regard as more or less peculiar. I have known a man, for instance, who collected stick pins. One woman collected pictures of pigs; another candlesticks. One lady had a few hundred of all kinds of pocketbooks

which she guarded most jealously; her daughter, who was a patient of mine, informed me that when she wanted one, she had to fight with her mother for weeks before she could have it. A man came to my attention who collected those collar buttons that one finds in newly laundered shirts; he requested all his friends to save them for him; he would most industriously assort them in boxes. One lady collected stones, not from the wall of Jerusalem or Rome, to be sure, but promiscuously, wherever she happened to stray; she would assort and name them. When I saw the collection for the first time I thought she was engaged in some definite scientific pursuit, that perhaps the various stones represented different fossils. A German writer who investigated the subject found that some people collected the most peculiar things. The Countess Chavan Narischkin, for instance, paid enormous sums for bed pans from Marie Antoinette and Mme. Pompadour and other celebrities. A naval officer collected uniform buttons; a man collected corkscrews for thirty years; the obstetrician Braun collected pubic hair, which he skilfully acquired while examining his patients.

The question naturally arises: "Why do people engage in such things?" I may perhaps best answer this by giving one or two illustrations. At a meeting of a psychoanalytic society in Zurich hospital, one of the members, an old bachelor, once took occasion to reveal this interesting bit of information: "Gentlemen, I want to tell you something quite strange. I take my vacation every year when a certain fly is swarming; I want to say that I have absolutely no interest in its scientific aspects. But I love to catch the insect and for about two weeks or so I gather it in great numbers and then throw it away. It is my most pleasing pastime." On inquiry it was found that the fly was of the "lobalia" species, designated in the Swiss dialect as the "maiden." This innocent little occu-

pation was thus a highly interesting symbolic action, which revealed the unconscious thoughts and tendencies of this man; how natural for this old bachelor to be thinking of catching the "maiden" while he was on his vacation! He was a little astonished at this bit of analysis, but he confessed that he could see no other explanation for his hobby. He was quite frank. There surely was a reason why this man did not marry; and whatever were the inhibitions in his case, he showed his real motives by occupying himself in this way. When we take our vacation, consciously or unconsciously, somewhere deep down in our heart we think of "catching" maidens. It has been observed, and very aptly, that most engagements take place in summer resorts, steamers and similar places.

Miss T., a woman of considerable education and refinement, was greatly interested in collecting works on mushrooms; knowing that I read foreign languages, she asked me on one occasion to recommend to her some books on the subject, particularly those with illustrated cuts from German, French, or Italian sources. I brought her some and on inquiring whether she had a reading knowledge of those languages, I learned that she was not at all acquainted with them, but that her whole interest was centered in the illustrations. I knew very little at the time about matters of this nature, and her behavior in this regard seemed strange to me. I learned, for instance, that on one occasion she paid as much as six dollars for one German work. Some years after I had become interested in Freudian psychology, I had the opportunity to meet Miss T. and I took occasion to find out what was back of her interest in works on mushrooms. On inquiring whether she still collected cuts on the subject, she replied: "Oh, yes, I have quite a collection." I asked her to tell me how she happened to begin her hobby, and she merely replied: "Well, I really don't know how it came

about. I was on my vacation in the mountains; one night I could not fall asleep, hard as I tried. I arose very early the next morning, and walking out on the lawn, I found some mushrooms; I took them to the cook, who fried them for me. Since then I was interested in pictures of mushrooms."

What is the significance of Miss T.'s hobby? In the first place, we know that when a person suffers from insomnia, it can be attributed to only one of two causes, either to some organic disturbance, such as lung or heart trouble, that is, to some definite organic pain, or to some strictly nervous condition. Most of the nervous insomnias are always due to a lack of emotional outlet; and people suffering from them usually go to bed and fancy and daydream, and thus are unable to fall asleep. As Miss T. appeared perfectly healthy, I concluded that she must have experienced some emotional disturbance that night. When I had explained to her the motive that prompted me to inquire into the situation, she gave me the following information: During her vacation there was a middle-aged man, who met her quite frequently and with whom she would take long walks; he apparently paid her a great deal of attention. One evening he was a bit intoxicated, and his behavior toward her was rude and suggestive; she left him and returned to her room. It was following that night that she began to take an interest in the mushroom. It is not hard to surmise what transpired. His suggestive remarks, disquieting and repelling as they were, aroused sex fancies which she could not shake off from her mind. Thoughts of this nature are instinctive and persist always, no matter how hard we try to banish them. Now if we remember that certain types of mushrooms are scientifically designated as "phallus," which means, penis, we may readily see what it was that unconsciously attracted her attention to the mushroom; indeed, the very object that so shocked her the evening before, now

unconsciously acquired a tremendous significance and interest for her. That is why she continued to collect the mushroom; there was absolutely no scientific reason why she should take an interest in the work.

From the above considerations, it is clearly seen that such collections serve as emotional outlets. This is borne out also in the collections of stamps, birds' eggs, or nests, that we find at the prepubescent age. It is then that the emotions of sex and love become manifest and the child finds it difficult to control them. It is the age when the child undergoes marked psychological changes; powerfully latent forces begin to manifest themselves in the psychic life. Youth, as we all know, is then dissatisfied, it often revolts, leaving home and kindred. Some children may become very religious; according to statistics from Evangelists, most conversions take place at this age. The child becomes critical, he seems to lose his old regard for his parents; and it is perhaps with no little degree of disappointment or even pain that he begins to realize that after all mother and father are not as omniscient and omnipotent as he supposed. What he really craves for is expression of the sexual emotions in the form of mating. The mating season begins at this time; but as this gross manifestation of sex must be deferred in the human being to a later period, and as we are taught to repress it from the very beginning, this emotional unrest and sexual craving merely expresses itself in a vague groping for something not altogether tangible or concrete. Owing to cultural forces, the real aim is gradually distorted; we have crying spells among girls, and boys often take an interest in the manifest part of sex. In the main, however, sex is repressed; they may, of course, occasionally consult the dictionary about the meaning of certain significant words, or read suggestive stories, or write little things that are lewd. The desire for outward expression nevertheless remains;

and unconsciously the collection offers in some cases the necessary emotional outlet. Collecting among children, therefore, is to be encouraged, particularly if it furnishes knowledge at the same time.

That the collecting mania is a reaction to an unconscious need, to an inner feeling of voidness concerning some particular craving is best seen in the collections made by the insane. It is common to see a lunatic strutting about with all sorts of things bulging from his pockets. The patient has to be searched from day to day lest he accumulate enormous heaps of rubbish. When in the insane asylum, I would sometimes secure a big bundle belonging to one of the inmates and begin to unravel it; it would be wrapped in about a hundred papers and when I reached the nucleus, I found but a few pieces of glass or stone, in other words, nothing but trash. They consider this refuse extremely valuable and it is impossible to take it away from them in the waking state, for they will resist tooth and nail. I found very soon that such patients usually have delusions of poverty; they feel that they have lost everything. It may surprise you to know that a goodly number of such patients are well-to-do; you see that borne out particularly in private practice. I knew an old wealthy woman whose children asked me to examine her, because she would store away a lot of old newspapers and rubbish in a safe; indeed she would fill an extra safe with them. On inquiring why she did that, she said, "Well, every little thing counts nowadays." The mental deterioration in such patients blurs their sense of value, and like children who experience a vague craving for something, they blindly follow the impulse.

I have found a good many people who collected on a large scale until some marked change occurred in their existence. I knew a man, a bachelor, for instance, who had a room filled with long narrow vases which he collected for years. He felt

that there was something very artistic in that particular form of vases, and formulated various theories about their origin, etc. He had over thirty such vases and every one of them had a name. Most of them were labelled in his own very small script as, Miss Essie, Miss Gwendolyn, and similar fancy maiden names. When he showed them to me he remarked: "You see I'm not as lonesome as you imagine. I have plenty of girls with me." To my question he answered that the name of one of the vases was Mrs. Gamma.

As this man was not analyzed by me I could not obtain direct information about the origin of this collection and can only surmise the meaning of it. He told me that he began his collection hobby with violins and that he changed to vases because, although violins are also elongated and graceful, they did not lend themselves for his hobby as well as vases. For one thing, he did not care to buy cheap violins and he could not afford expensive ones. The naming of his vases came to him as an inspiration. He once bought one and the idea occurred to him that "she recalled Gwendolyn" and henceforth he called it by that name, and gradually christened all the others. I could not get any reason why he named one Mrs. Gamma except that this particular vase looked to him something like the Greek letter Gamma. As I said, this man was an elderly bachelor of about forty-five, who had nothing whatever to do with the fair sex. He lived with his maiden aunt since his mother died, and when the former was gathered to her ancestors he kept a bachelor's apartment with a Japanese valet. Years later I was informed by the same man who first introduced me to him, that the vase collector suddenly married a young widow with two children. It was following some operation during which he was nursed by this widow that he decided to make her his wife. "Does he still collect vases?" I inquired. The answer which was sent to me a few weeks later read as follows;

"I paid a visit to Mr. Vase Collector and saw little of his former hobby. He lives quite contentedly with his family in a six room apartment. He told me that his family claims all his spare time, that for the present at least he has no interest in his former hobby."

I have had occasion to analyze some people of this type, and I have concluded that such feverish collecting activities represent what we call "fetichism," a condition in which an inanimate object is endowed with certain marked emotional feelings. It was essentially a fetich for the valiant knight, wandering forth in quest of adventure, to take along with him a handkerchief from the fair lady which he guarded most religiously.

"Get me a handkerchief from her bosom, a
garter of my love."

The cases that I have in mind have, however, a much greater emotional endowment than that of the valiant knight. These fetichisms always have a symbolic significance. After the first edition of my book "Psychoanalysis" appeared, I received a letter from a gentleman who informed me that when his old grandfather died it was found that he left thousands of horseshoes that he collected, and that it was quite a problem for his children to know what to do with them. He stated that the man was one of the pioneers in the state of Indiana where he was born, an individual absolutely typical of that pioneer type; he had three wives and when his last one died, he began to pay overtures to the hired girls. The writer closed his letter by remarking that he thought that every horseshoe represented a certain amorous thought in the old man's mind. When you learn the origin of the horseshoe,¹ that it was originally nothing but the genitals of cows or camels which were stuck up over

¹ Cf. A. A. Brill, Psychoanalysis, Its Theories and Applications. 3rd Edit. W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia.

the doors to avoid evil spirits, you will see that there is good reason for believing that the correspondent's interpretation is undoubtedly correct. We may posit, then, the general rule that no person who is emotionally satisfied, whose work sufficiently absorbs him and satisfies his emotional demands, really collects to any marked degree, except, of course, if he is a professional collector.

It is very difficult to convince people who are not acquainted with the work we are doing, of the deeper psychological meaning of these collecting manias. There is nothing arbitrary or fortuitous about these occupations; they have a definite significance in each individual's life, and if you once gain the person's confidence you will find that they are symbolic of some profound quest, perhaps of some latent erotic striving or wish, which by reason of certain inhibitions, he was unable to realize. "*Das Ewige weibliche zieht uns immer an.*" They are unconscious symbolic actions of which the average person is altogether unaware.

We have thus far dwelt on the psychopathology of every-day life, and I have attempted to show you how such simple or complex indicators are present in every-day conversation and actions. Our fundamental principle is that nothing can be hidden; repressed thoughts forever strive to come to the surface, and our real motives and wishes become manifest in the "little unconscious ways" of every-day life. As Van Dyke has so happily put it: "Men's little ways are usually more interesting and often more instructive than their grand manners. When they are off guard they frequently show to better advantage than when they are on parade."

It may be asked, "What value is there in knowing these psychic mechanisms?" I may perhaps best answer this question by relating to you a story told to me by one of my patients. An admirer of Freud, she brought up her children to understand these unconscious psychic manifestations.

One summer her daughter, a girl of nineteen, invited a young man to spend a few weeks at their country home. Everything went well and everybody was happy; the young man thought highly of his young friend, and Renée confided in her mother. He was invited to come again the following summer, but this time the daughter had also her classmate with her and the young man was sufficiently indiscreet to show attention to this new arrival. Very soon the mother began to learn how much Renée hated him and how she wished that he would leave, but nothing could be done, because the invitation was for a certain number of weeks. Meanwhile he was fed on psychopathology of every-day life, its nature and meaning, and he was soon well up in the new study. One day he broke this news to Renée: "I just received a message from the city and I have to go home." He left, and when he reached the city, he addressed her a little note, saying: "I didn't tell you the truth. I really didn't have to go, but I noticed for a few days that you called me Jack, and knowing that you hate Jack, and as your mistake shows that you identified me with him, I thought you hated me too. So it was better for me to leave." When the girl had finished reading the little missive, it was as if lightning had struck her from a clear sky. Running up to her mother she exclaimed: "There you are with your Freud!" The mother could not understand at first what had happened, but upon learning the situation, she began to calm the girl. "Now look here," she explained, "after all, you were very anxious that he leave, for you said you hated him; and now that he is gone you have no reason to be angry."

Thus the daughter was deeply hurt merely because her real state of feeling was discovered. The young man did exactly what she wished him to, and she had no reason to take offence. It seems to me that if we all regard matters of this sort in their proper light we would be relieved of a

great many distressing problems: It was good for the young man to take the hint; they were really both benefited; he felt more comfortable and she was freed of an unnecessary burden. We should learn to regard our unconscious motives as much a part of our true selves as our conscious acts; there is no reason why we should be ashamed or alarmed when they are discovered. There is nothing shameful in the fact that an ardent worker for the protection of cruelty to animals has tortured chickens when she was a child, or that a prison reformer had indulged in primitive acts in early boyhood. Our civilization is a resultant of these contrary forces in the individual. The good in us is only a reaction to what was once bad and that had to be repressed. The saint is a former sinner. We are all human and have our shortcomings. "*Homo sum; humani nihil mihi alienum puto.*" And so I feel that we would all be happier, if we would only be truthful at all times. But the point is that we are for the most part *not* truthful to ourselves—and hence these slips or mistakes which, in their own small way, have the same relation to the unconscious as the symptom itself. After all it was best for everybody concerned that the young man understood the meaning of this identification and terminated the unbearable situation by his departure.

CHAPTER V

WIT: ITS TECHNIQUE AND TENDENCIES

SOME of the examples that I have given you of the psychopathology of every-day life were distinctly mirth provoking and could easily pass as witticisms. And as a matter of fact the slip made at the evening dance, when one of the guests remarked: "There is one fine thing about Teddy, he always gives you a square meal," when he wished to say a "square deal," called forth no little laughter from you. The guests caught at once the significance of the slip, for it expressed just what they were thinking about. Here the unconscious not only showed the disappointed state of mind but the technique employed in expressing it rendered it also witty. In other words, besides being a mere *lapsus linguae*, it was also a witticism. The question now suggests itself: "How was the wit produced in this case?" At first sight, one might say that it was accomplished in a very simple way,—by changing just one letter in the word deal and thus giving an entirely different meaning to the whole phrase. If the guests had been regaled with the appropriate meal, the slip would not have been made, or if perchance it had been made, it would have passed unnoticed. We may say, therefore, that the wit was produced first, because the wording fitted in with the situation, and secondly, because of the slight changing in the word. The unconscious expression served as a compensation for the disappointment of both the speaker and the guests generally. Instead of feeling angry at the

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host for serving sandwiches and lemonade when something more substantial was expected, they were now deriving much pleasure from passing around the huge joke. If one should ask what actually produced the pleasure in the witticism, we would have to say that the guests were fascinated and amused because through the slip, the speaker could openly voice the sentiment of all, telling the host what everybody thought of him, but could not say because of social proprieties. In other words, one may say that every guest thought: "What a stingy host," but no one could say it aloud. Through the *lapsus linguae*, however, the host was actually told: "you are stingy; you can afford to give us a generous meal, instead you serve merely sandwiches and lemonade." But such an open expression was impossible in that social gathering. We may say, in brief, that a change of the letter "d" to "m" allowed the guests to draw pleasure from otherwise forbidden sources. Because the truth was told where one usually lies, every one was happy, except the one to whom the truth was told,—the host. The particular example shows that there is some connection between faulty actions and wit in both technique and psychology. In order to understand this connection better, it may be wise to go a bit deeper into the nature and mechanism of wit.

In a paper that I wrote some years ago on "Wit" I mentioned the fact that in a short story I had read, one of the characters, a "sport," speaks of the Christmas season as the "*Alcoholidays*." Here two words are fused together because of a certain intimate connection between them, and the resultant new word expresses a certain sense to the hearer which he conceives as witty. We know that on holidays one allows himself a greater degree of freedom than on ordinary days, and in the past they were conducive to alcoholic indulgence. And so when one hears the word "*alcoholidays*," one smiles and knows what the person means to convey. The

word represents a fusion, a *condensation* of ideas as well as words. Instead of saying "On holidays one gets drunk and feels well," the speaker fused the whole thought into one word,—"alcoholidays."

Let us take another example of condensation as it is seen in wit. In his work "Lothair" Disraeli said, "When a man falls into *anecdotage*, it is time for him to retire." We may readily see that the fused word is made up of "anecdote" and "dotage." We know that in old age people resort to anecdotes. This is borne out among sane and insane alike. In senile dementia, one of the most important diagnostic points is a lack of impressibility for recent impressions and a continual return to the past. The patient does not remember what he had for breakfast a half hour after, he goes out to do an errand and forgets what it is. But he remembers things of the remote past. He usually begins, "When I was in the Civil War. . . ." or "You should have seen the girls of fifty years ago. . . ." etc. Normal aged people show the same mechanism, but of course not to so marked a degree. When an individual resorts to anecdotes it means that he no longer feels himself a part of the present, that he is in dotage and hence may as well retire. And as a matter of fact he has retired, psychiatrically speaking. The word "*anecdotage*" is therefore a condensation of a number of thoughts as well as of words.

Some one said: "*All men are homeless, but some men are home less than others.*" Here the word "homeless" is not a new word, but if you break it up into two parts you get two distinct words expressing an entirely different idea. The wit here is altogether due to the technique.

Another illustration is the following: *The man who says the present styles are shocking is always willing to be a shock-absorber.*

Once I ran on to this remark: "*Some lawyers earn their*

bread by the sweat of their brow-beating." Here again, we see the condensation. The well-known Biblical phrase, "To earn thy bread by the sweat of the brow," is modified here, the fusion of the two words giving an altogether different meaning to the expression, for one at once recalls a well known characteristic of many lawyers.

In the category of condensation of words we may place also the following: "*Not being favored by Dame Luck, he became a Lame Duck.*" This form of wit is what the Germans call "Schüttel-rheim,"—shuffling rhyme. Here is another example of it: It was Mr. Smith's first Sunday as usher in church. He was all flustered, and turning to a lady who entered, he said: "*This way, lady, I will sew you into a sheet.*" A very fine example of this type of wit is seen in the case of that punctilious gentleman who made the indelicate slip we noted on a previous occasion.

Just as we have condensation of words, so we have condensation of thoughts. A very good example of what I mean is an army witticism that I have cited in one of my papers. "A corporal, during drill, shouts to the recruits: '*Keep it up, boys, courage and perseverance bring everything. The egg of Columbus was not laid in a day.*'" Here you see there were two thoughts, two sayings fused together: 'Rome was not built in a day,' and the anecdote of the egg of Columbus. What the corporal meant to say was, all that you boys need is practice; it is as simple as it was for Columbus to stand the egg on end; don't be discouraged, Rome was not built in a day. He fused these two ideas, however, and thus produced the substitutive formation, 'the egg of Columbus was not laid in a day,' which on account of its absurdity and incongruity carries the wit of the jest."

We may also produce condensation of thought by using the same expression or the same words in different meanings. For example: The question is asked: "*Why was Goliath*

surprised when David struck him with a stone?" The answer is: "Because such a thing never entered his head before!" Here the witticism is entirely due to the fact that the expression "entering one's head" is used in an entirely different sense from the idea of a "stone entering one's head." If the answer had been, "Because such a thing never pierced his head before," there would have been no witticism. It is because the word "enter" was used in the figurative sense, as denoting cognizance or awareness, that the joke was produced.

The mechanism of condensation noted above plays an extremely important part, not only in wit but also in dreams. In the dream, words, pictures, ideas and situations are all subject to the process of condensation. Let me give you an example. Miss R. dreamed "that she saw a woman, whom she later identified as her sister-in-law, standing on a sort of platform, surrounded by a multitude of people who were apparently applauding her. She was brushing her clothes, but instead of brushing them down, she brushed them up." The dream was a condensation of the following thoughts: "My sister-in-law always likes to be in the limelight; she always wants an audience. She is very coarse, and doesn't know how to act delicately in polite society." Brushing one's clothes with a brush upwards is sometimes extremely impolite and coarse, and describes very well the whole situation.

Let us now turn to another form of the technique of wit. By way of illustration, take this witticism:

Contributor: "*You sit down on every joke I write.*"

Editor: "*Well, I wouldn't if there was any point to them.*"
—(The *Christian Advocate*, N. Y.)

The technique lies here seemingly in the double meaning of the phrase "to sit down," which is used first, metaphorically, meaning to reject, and in the second, it is used in the actual sense of "sitting down." If, instead of using "to sit

down," one would say, "to reject," just as in the preceding witticism, if it were said "to pierce" instead of "to enter," there would be no wit. When one examines the witticism more closely, however, one finds that the reduction has not been applied to the right place. The jest does not lie in the contributor's statement, but rather in the editor's rejoinder, that is, in the answer, "Well, I wouldn't if there was any point to them." The editor takes advantage of the double meaning of "to sit down" and produces wit by ignoring the empty sense and using it literally. His own use of the word in the idiomatic sense furnishes the wit. For if his answer had been, "Well, I wouldn't if there was any wit to them," there would have been no joke.

In order to understand better the mechanism illustrated by the above jokes, let us take another example:

A Favored Mortal

The Mendicant:—"Could you help a poor homeless guy that ain't got a dollar nor a friend?"

Old Multirox:—"Not a friend? No one to tell you disagreeable things for your own good? No one to touch you for a dollar? Man, you don't know your luck."—(Judge, 1921.)

How is the wit produced here? You see Old Multirox displaces the accent from the mendicant's request for material help to something entirely different, when he says, "not a friend," etc. He deliberately ignores the first part of the mendicant's recital asking for money, and dwells on the last part of the sentence which the beggar gave as a secondary reason for asking him for help. He thus tries to give the beggar the impression that far from being badly off because he has not a friend, he is to be congratulated for being so fortunate. Whatever he said about a friend may be generally true of some friends but that was beside the question here. The beggar asked for money and cared little about a

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lecture on the badness of having friends. In other words, the supposed benefactor displaced the accent from the main issue, the request for money, to the explanatory, though unimportant part of the whole thing.

In both of the above examples the technique lies in the displacement of the psychic accent; this is especially marked in the last joke: "Not a friend?" The supposed benefactor answers as if the request were for a friend, and the element of charity does not appear at all.

Take another example: A man loses his gold-headed cane. The next morning he recalls that he must have left it in a café, but it occurs to him that he visited four cafés during that evening. He inquires in one of them: "*Waiter, did I leave a cane here?*" "*No cane was found,*" was the answer. *He then calls at the next restaurant, asks the same question but receives the same answer. He visits the third place and again asks:* "*Alphonse, have I left my cane here yesterday?*" "*No, monsieur, nothing was found.*" *When he reaches the fourth restaurant he is pretty well discouraged. He asks the same question but this time the waiter replies:* "*Yes, we have it.*" *He was very pleased and said:* "*I shall never go to the other cafés again: this is the only place I will visit hereafter.*" Where does the wit lie? Here again, the man displaces the whole emotional accent from the important point to something very trivial. He is keenly disappointed in those cafés where the cane was not found, forgetting that it was no fault of theirs that he did not leave it there. He behaves as if the cane had been in all the four places and all, but the last, refused to return it to him. In other words, he assumes that there are four canes, and that he lost three.

The above joke illustrates also another mechanism which we call "*automatism.*" A person falls into a certain trend

of thought, gets accustomed to it and follows it automatically, regardless of whether it has logic or not. The following examples will serve as illustration:

A dentist had to crawl under his auto in order to make some adjustment in the machinery. Applying the monkey wrench to it he said soothingly: "Now this is going to hurt just a little."

The father of the bride, an undertaker, was busily engaged in getting everything ready for the departure of the newlyweds for their honeymoon. At last all the baggage was in the car and after taking affectionate leave of his son-in-law and daughter he slammed the door of the car and cried to the driver, "Cypress Hills" (one of our great cemeteries).

In both examples one observes the automatism of thought. The dentist could not forget his profession whenever he applied any instrument to something. His assuring formula became so automatic that he used it even in inanimate objects, while the undertaker could only think of the removal of a corpse when he slammed the door of the vehicle.

This leads us to another form of wit which is well illustrated in the following example:

"Why were they married?"

"Because they fell in love."

"And why were they divorced?"

"Because they fell in love."

The witticism may recall "the manifold application of the same material": but in this case, the double meaning plays no part. The important factor in this example depends on the formation of a new and unexpected identity, and on the production of ideas and definitions related to each other and to a common third. "And why were they divorced?" It is a *unification*. Unification is also the basis of the quick

repartee in wit, for ready repartee consists in using the defense for aggression, and in "turning the tables" or in "paying with the same coin"; that is, the repartee consists in establishing an unexpected identity between attack and counter-attack. It is also well illustrated in the following examples:

A lawyer of small stature came into a court to look after his client's interests. His opponent, not knowing him, asked him what he wanted, and on being told who he was, jokingly remarked: "*What? Such a little lawyer? Why I could put you in my pocket!*" "*You could,*" tranquilly responded the former, "*but then you would have more brains in your pocket than in your head.*"—Here there is a definite establishment of identification, of pocket and smallness of stature, to a definite third,—"brains," the repartee thus being established.

Likewise there is a story told about Augustus Cæsar who, travelling in the province, met a man who resembled him very much. He turned to him and said: "*Tell me, was your mother ever in the service of the Unification or Repartee emperor at Rome?*" The man replied: "*Not Wit my mother, but my father!*" This is as clever a retort as one could give to a person whom one cannot possibly insult, and sums up the situation most admirably.

Other examples of unification wit or repartee are as follows:

After a poor recitation in English, a student suffering from a stigmata of obesity is rebuked thus by the professor: "*You are better fed than learned.*" To which the student retorts: "*Yes, you teach me, and I feed myself.*"

He: "*Yes, a married man lives a dog's life.*"

She: "*Yes, barks all day and growls all night.*"

—*Simplicissimus.*

There is another form of the technique of wit that we do not meet with very often, which illustrates a mechanism often observed in unconscious mentation. Here **Nonsense Wit** is an example:

The first cinder speaking to the second: "*Why so angry?*" The second answers: "*I have been wasting time in a glass eye.*"

The witticism is a fine example of animism, by which is meant, attributing an animate quality or condition to an inanimate object.¹ It is a mechanism which is found also in dreams. The wit arises here from the naïvety of the conception; every one knows what it means to have a cinder in the eye, but when one hears that it is a glass eye, one immediately sees the comedy instead of the tragedy of the situation. No one would laugh if the word "glass" would have been omitted; in fact the answer would have been mal à propos, because when a cinder gets in the eye it is not a question of wasting time. The wit is produced altogether by the fact that a situation has been created which belongs to the naïve, to what we may regard as nonsensical.

Another form of wit we may designate as elliptical; the figure "ellipsis" as used in rhetoric, denoting omission. The **Ellipsis Wit** question is asked: "*Do you think ignorance is bliss?*" And the answer is: "*Well, you seem to be happy!*" As is seen, at least one thought is left out between the question and the answer.

We find this same form of wit in the following example: Husband to his wife: "*If one of us should die I'll live in New York.*" The wit is produced by ignoring the possibility of the first part of the statement and acting as if there was no question that his wife will die first, thus revealing what was omitted in conscious thought.

¹ Cf. the conception of talking trees in Greek mythology.

There are also witticisms which express other mechanisms than those thus far considered. Take, for instance, the following:

The Mark of Perfection

Dyer: "*How do you like your new car?*"

Ryer: "*Fine! It won't do a thing the salesman claimed it would.*" Here the wit is produced by uttering the exact opposite of what might be expected. One would expect such an answer as this: "Very well ^{Representation through the Opposite} indeed, it does everything that the salesman assured us it would do," but the average automobile owner's faith in the auto salesman is rudely bumped when he finds that the car does not run at least twenty miles on a gallon of gas, that this or that part does get out of order or broken, etc., etc. The wit-provoking element is the universal knowledge of the very exaggerating proclivities of salesmen which customers always take into consideration. The technique is representation through the opposite.

The following example represents another technique of wit which we designate as sense in nonsense:

Sometime after losing her grandfather little Ethel asked her mother if she could play the piano:

"*No, dear; don't you know that we are in mourning?*" her mother replied.

"*Well,*" insisted the child, "*I don't think it would be wicked if I only played on the black keys.*"—(Judge, 1921.)

The child's answer is witty because it is so senseless and naïve, but as a matter of fact it is made nonsensical only to express a senseful reproach to her mother for her way of following this conventional hypocrisy of modern life, the absurd idea of wearing black to express one's sorrow over the death of near relatives. What a child usually observes is that in reality there is very little mortification over the death of a grandparent, indeed in most cases

**Sense in
Nonsense**

there is a sigh of relief when dear grandpa is gone, because one needs the money and one has been terribly annoyed by his protracted illness, etc. A child always observes much more than parents realize and soon notices that mourning does not deprive the mourner of anything that he really wants, but it is used as an excuse for refusing invitations from people one dislikes, etc. In brief, the child's thoughts could be reduced as follows: "As far as I see you haven't given up a single pleasure over the death of grandpa, all you do is wear black. Why prohibit me from playing? I suppose I could play if the keys were black."

From the mechanism of sense in nonsense we will proceed to "outdoing" wit, of which the following is an example:

Mrs. A. to Mrs. B.: "*Can you recommend your former servant, does she understand everything well?*" "Oh, yes, ^{Outdoing} ~~wit~~ *she understands everything even better,*" answered Mrs. B. What produces the witticism here is that she recommends her servant so very highly that she expresses the very opposite! In other words, the servant does not understand anything. . . . It is the mechanism of representing by the opposite, or the mechanism of outdoing.

Take, for instance, this excellent joke: *A Jew and a Greek are in a café, enjoying their coffee and talking. Says the Greek: "You know, Jacob, the old Greeks were the most wonderful people that ever lived. They knew everything. Just recently they were digging around the Acropolis in Athens and they found wires, which shows that the old Greeks used telegraphy." Then the Jew: "That's alright, but I tell you the Jews were the most wonderful people. They recently dug around the walls of Jerusalem and did not find anything, which shows that the old Jews used wireless telegraphy!"* This is a very fine example of outdoing wit; at the same time, as you see, it also tries to represent something

by the very opposite:—because nothing was found, therefore the supposed condition!

Very often wit is produced by the expression of something *similar* and *cognate*, as given in this example from Heinrich Heine:

"This woman resembles Venus de Milo in many points: Like Venus de Milo she is extraordinarily old. Like Venus she has no teeth; like Venus she has white spots on the yellow surface of her body." In other words, he begins with the idea that she must be very beautiful, and compares her with Venus, but he selects certain points of similarity that show just the opposite. Yet all the points that the poet mentions are perfectly true. He thus depicts something very ugly by comparing it with something very beautiful.

We have described thus far, briefly of course, the most common forms of the technique of wit. As we have pointed out above, the process of condensation which we have noted in the technique of wit appears also in the formation of dreams. So, too, displacement, absurdity, indirect representation and expression through the opposite—all these are found also in the technique of dreams. It is the process of displacement that renders the dream so incomprehensible to us and thus prevents us from seeing in the dream only a continuation of our waking thoughts. The existence of the naïve and absurd in the dream is the reason why people generally think that there is a deterioration of the psychic activities in the dream. We find also in the dream expression through the opposite, indirect expressions and other mechanisms found in wit. We thus see how much alike in technique are the two psychic phenomena.

When we inquire into wit, as concerns its tendencies, we find that it falls into two classes, purposeful wit, or that

which shows definite aims, and harmless wit, or that which shows no particular aim. As an example of harmless wit, **The Tendencies of Wit** take the following: Smith asks Brown: "*Have you seen the new Murillo?*" "*No, I have not gone to the Zoölogical Garden for a year.*" This is only understood, when we know that Murillo was a great Spanish painter. The name, however, sounds like that of some sort of animal. It is only purposeful wit that is apt to be met with resistance from hearers or persons concerned. A harmless joke may be produced by witty words or witty thoughts, and any of the techniques described may serve to produce a purposeful witticism. Whenever wit is not harmless, that is, when it is purposeful and shows a definite aim, it has two tendencies: it is either hostile, aggressive,—or it is obscene, sexual.

Take, for instance, the smutty joke. We may define it as a joke which brings into prominence some sexual facts or relations through speech. Such jokes are constantly read and heard in theatres and at the finest social gatherings. A typical example is the following:

Mrs. Chatterton: "*There's D'Auber's shocking picture, 'Love in Arcady.' They say it's a portrait of you. You don't mean to tell me you posed for it?*"

Mrs. Proudfit: "*Certainly not! He must have painted it from memory.*"—(Judge, 1921.)

Of course, rendering prominent something sexual, does not necessarily produce wit. A lecture on the anatomy of the sexual organs or on the physiology of reproduction need not necessarily provoke laughter. The smutty joke must fulfill certain conditions: In the first place, it must be directed toward a certain person who stimulates one sexually, and who becomes aware of the speaker's excitement by listening to the smutty joke, and in turn becomes sexually excited. Very often, instead of becoming sexually excited

one reacts with embarrassment or shame, which only shows a reaction against the excitement and thus signifies an admission of the same. The smutty joke was originally directed against the woman, a fact amply borne out in the histories of smutty wit. That nowadays, however, smutty jokes are mostly told among men, is only due to the fact that civilization and culture have rendered the original situation impossible of realization; this is counterbalanced, however, by the theatres and comic periodicals. The smutty joke is only an exhibition directed against a person to whom one is not sexually indifferent. Through the utterance of obscene words, the person attacked is excited to picture the parts of the body of the person in question, and is shown that the aggressor pictures the same thing. In other words, when a man seeks out a woman and tells her a sexual joke, it is because she stimulates him sexually, and he hopes by telling her the joke to stimulate her sexually, in turn. She may either laugh at it, which shows that she enjoys the situation, or become embarrassed, which to the person who makes the joke, means the same thing. The following is a good example of this kind of wit:

Rub:—"A woman has just been arrested for carrying concealed weapons."

Dub:—"Where?"—(*Judge*, 1921.)

There is no doubt that originally the motive of the suggestive risqué joke was *exhibitionism*,—the pleasure of seeing the sexual displayed. As Freud has pointed out, one of the primitive components of our libido is the desire to see the sexual exposed. All animals exhibit during the mating season. And among human beings, it is a common observation that the greatest amount of showing-off on the part of men is done in the presence of women. There probably would be no football games, or other college exhibitions, were it not for the fact that the participator expects to see

at the event his best girl, or perhaps his sister or mother. This form of showing off is nothing but a sublimated activity of the infantile exhibitionism. The desire to see the sexual is probably only a substitute for the desire to touch the sexual which may be considered the primary pleasure. The libido for looking and touching is found in every person. We all know that touching the skin of the sexual object causes pleasure and excitement. The same holds true of looking which is analogous to touching.

Sexual excitement is frequently awakened by optical impressions, and selection taking account of this fact makes the sexual object a thing of beauty. The fact that one animal is preferred to another is undoubtedly due to only one thing,—that the one looks better to the mate than the other. Of course, originally everything was done very frankly, and touching and looking were perfectly normal mechanisms. The introduction of clothing to cover the body, has only aroused a much greater sexual curiosity, and the individual constantly strives to supplement the sexual object by uncovering the hidden parts through his imagination. Looking and touching are intermediary sexual aims, that is, they are not ends in themselves, they merely lead to mating; they conduce to the selection of the person who pleases the individual more than any other person. If one lingers very much at one of the intermediary stages, that is, if one is not using the partial component for the selection of a mate, but makes it his primary aim, he suffers from an abnormal sexual tendency which we regard as a *perversion*. That is to say, such a person fixes on the looking as the main sexual pleasure instead of directing it toward the normal sexual aim. He is what is designated as a *voyeur* or a "peeper." The desire to exhibit is readily seen in children and if not subjected to the normal sexual repression, it develops into a desire for exhibition, a common perversion in some grown up men.

It is such partial components as exhibitionism and touching, which, when repressed, still leave a certain amount of libido ungratified that men try to supplement through speech. By arousing a picture of his type in the woman the man leads her to merge into a corresponding excitement and the reaction of laughter or embarrassment thus produced in her gives him a certain amount of pleasure. We know from everyday experience that though the joke may have nothing in common with smut, the fact that it provokes laughter in others gives the person who made it a marked degree of pleasure. That is why we always seek an audience to tell a joke. The speech of courtship is certainly not regularly the smutty joke, but may very often pass over into one. We may say, then, that sexual aggression when inhibited expresses itself usually in speech.

Another factor in determining the smutty wit is the unyieldingness of the woman. Nature has purposely designed that the woman be passive in that regard, for it was intended that only the fittest and strongest should mate and survive. It is necessary for the woman not to yield too readily, for in this way she is able to have many men court her. Thus only the most persistent and strongest would finally be chosen. If the female of the species should yield immediately she would mate with any weakling, and a rather poor progeny would be the outcome. So that among human beings, as among animals, the woman, though she may be in love with the man, will always hold back; she does not do this deliberately, as you might think; it is quite an unconscious reaction. The only point is that sometimes women, particularly of a neurotic type, hold back too long and the man gets tired and finds another woman. I have many cases of women who suffered nervous breakdowns when the man left them after about two years of courtship. The ideal case for such resistance on the part of the woman usually results

from the presence of another man whose presence excludes the immediate yielding of the woman.

We may say then that the tendency wit requires three persons: first, the person who makes the wit; second, the person who is taken as the object of the hostile or sexual aggression; and third, the person in whom the purpose of the wit to produce pleasure is fulfilled. The way this is done may be described somewhat as follows: Just as soon as the first person meets with resistance on the part of the woman to the gratification of his libidinous impulse, he at once assumes a hostile attitude toward her and turns to the third person as to a sort of confederate. Through the obscene speech the first person is able to expose the woman before the third person who as a passive hearer derives pleasure from the easy gratification of his own libido. The wit enables, therefore, the first person to gratify his original lewd or hostile craving, despite the hindrance which stands in the way; it enables him to draw pleasure from an otherwise forbidden source. What the hindrance is is not hard to see. It is nothing less than the higher degree of social propriety which makes it hard for the woman, and to a less degree, for the man, to countenance the bare sexual. With the advance of civilization, the force of repression became correspondingly stronger and what was once conceived as pleasurable now appears as unacceptable, and is rejected by all the psychic forces. But the human psyche finds absolute renunciation difficult and it is through the medium of the tendency wit that we are still able to enjoy many of those primary pleasures that civilization and the higher education have found unacceptable. We may say accordingly that the obscene delicate witticism heard among people of culture and refinement and the coarse obscene joke of the ill-bred both have the same source of pleasure. The only difference is that owing to cultural development, the coarse obscene joke

causes shame or disgust, the obscene delicate witticism incites us to laughter because wit has come to its aid. At a gathering of ladies and gentlemen of the highest culture, it is not at all uncommon for one of the company to make a joke so risqué that were we to examine the actual thought behind it, we would in all probability be terribly shocked, and order the person out of the house; but because it is given in the form of a witticism, every one is fascinated and laughs.

It also frequently happens that such wit is produced by the most cultured persons in an involuntary and unconscious way. A gentleman whose words I have no reason to doubt vouches for the truth of the following story: A well known clergyman addressed a women's club and was very profuse in his praise of the ladies of the club and the sex in general. Among other things he said: "As one who knows the frailties of mankind I am repeatedly astounded at the strength of women. In the face of the terrible temptations to which women are constantly subjected it is wonderful at the force they display, yes, *it is wonderful that you don't fall, but it is also wonderful when you do fall.*" The last sentence was uttered unconsciously. The ladies were highly amused but the clergyman assured my friend that he was never more embarrassed in his life. It was an echo from his unconscious or as he himself put it, it was the devil in him who spoke. For the devil is only a personification of our own primitive impulses. Praising the women for not falling was only a reaction to his repressed wishes while he stood there exhibiting through speech before women.

When we examine the part the wit plays in the service of the hostile tendency, we at once meet with similar conditions. Here, too, we have been taught from time immemorial to repress our anger; not only are we not allowed to use violence against our enemy, but we are taught that it is bad form even to use insulting language. With the advance of civiliza-

tion our hostile feelings, like our sexual cravings, have had to be repressed more and more. And though we have not yet reached the point where we are ready to turn our left cheek when we are smitten on the right, we have on the whole made considerable progress in controlling our hostile disposition. To be sure, aggression in conventional form is still the *vis a tergo* of life, and although the early Christian reaction to the then existing pagan sadism was a masochistic exaltation of humility and suffering, the Christian nations have only formally subscribed to it, they have never practiced it. Indeed those races who actually practice the virtues of humility and non-resistance have been treated with contempt by the leading Christian nations. As the *Yonkers Statesman* puts it: "*It's alright to sympathize with the underdog in a fight, but a fellow would be a fool to bet on him.*" But as society forbids us to express most of our feelings in action, we have developed, however, as in the case of the sexual aggression, a new mode of invective, by means of which we are able to enlist the third person as a confederate. Through wit we are able to humble and ridicule our enemy and thus obtain the pleasure of his defeat through the laughter of the third person, the passive hearer.

The wit of hostile aggression, then, gives us the means to make our enemy ridiculous, and wins over to our side the third person even though he may not at all be convinced of our position. The anecdote of the two lawyers mentioned above illustrates the process admirably. By way of another illustration take the following example which I have cited in my book:¹

Wendell Phillips, according to the recent biography by Dr. Lorenzo Sears, was, on one occasion, lecturing in Ohio, and while on a railroad journey going to keep one of his appoint-

¹ *Psychoanalysis, Its Theories and Applications.* 3rd Edit. W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia.

ments, he met in the car a number of clergymen returning from some sort of convention. One of the ministers felt called upon to approach Mr. Phillips, and asked him, "Are you Mr. Phillips?" "I am, sir." "Are you trying to free the niggers?" "Yes, sir, I am an abolitionist." "Well, why do you preach your doctrines up here? Why don't you go over into Kentucky?" "Excuse me," said Wendell Phillips, "are you a preacher?" "I am, sir." "Are you trying to save souls from hell?" "Yes, sir, that's my business. "Well, why don't you go there?"—You can see how a witticism like this serves more than disarming a man. The average individual approached in this fashion would have in all likelihood retaliated with some such invective as, "Go to hell," but Wendell Phillips used the tendency wit, and expressed in this way exactly, though in an indirect, brilliant way, just what he wished to say. The minister's behavior was offensive, yet Wendell Phillips, as a man of culture, could not defend himself in the manner of an ill-bred person. The only alternative that was left him was to take the affront in silence, but wit came to his aid and enabled him to turn the tables on his assailant. By its means he not only disarmed his opponent but fascinated the other clergymen to such an extent that they were won over to his side.

In summing up it may be said that the main function of wit is to produce pleasure from sources that are otherwise inaccessible to us. Perhaps the clearest demonstration of this is seen in the fact that smutty wit is so often enjoyed by elderly respectable men whose position in society prevents them from giving vent to their love outlets, and by persons who as a result of physical or mental factors are incapable of leading a normal love life. The greatest purveyors of smutty jokes belong to this class. This is clearly the case in tendency wit but the same is also true of harmless wit. When we laugh over Johnny's answer to his teacher when

he names the "Jail-bird" as the most common bird in captivity, we obtain pleasure through our feeling of superiority. When an audience bursts out laughing when a lady in the cast shouts "Go to hell" it shows its resentment to the conventional repression constantly forced upon it by society. Just because a woman is supposed to be more delicate in expression than a gentleman one is sure to be happy when she uses a profane expletive on the stage. It represents the height of social violations. So also one is terribly jarred to hear that no less a personage than Abraham Lincoln was very fond of vulgar wit, a fact which gave his biographers no little amount of worry. They seem to be puzzled at this crass incompatibility and find it extremely difficult to explain it. Thus Mr. Leonard Swett, Lincoln's political associate and later a United States Attorney General, states: "Almost any man who will tell a vulgar story has in a degree a vulgar mind. But it was not so with him; with all his purity of character and exalted morality and sensibility, which no man can doubt, when hunting for wit he had no ability to discriminate between the vulgar and refined substances from which he extracted it. It was the wit he was after, the pure jewel; and he would pick it up out of the mud or dirt just as readily as from the parlor table." Lord Charnwood, from whose work on Abraham Lincoln the above is taken, states: "In any case his best remembered utterances of this order were least fit for print, were both wise and incomparably witty, and in any case they did not prevent grave gentlemen who marvelled at them rather uncomfortably from receiving the deep impression of what they called his pure-mindedness." The trouble with most biographers is that they always leave out what they consider the un-nice parts of their ideals, forgetting that no matter how exalted a human being may become he is still very human in all his thoughts and actions. Abraham Lincoln was essentially a very aggressive man, he

was a fighter and known as such; any one reading his life can readily see how this "naughty" aggressive boy brought up in wild pioneer days had to overcome enormous primitive forces to become sublimated into the ideal being we know him to be. Strong and aggressive he remained all his life time, and we know that aggression in life also means sexual aggression. This is just what one fails to find in Abraham Lincoln. Unlike so many other great personages there was no sex gossip about him. On the other hand, those who understand the psychic forces of human reactions cannot fail to see many things in his life which point to strong psycho-sexual repression. Perhaps by way of contrast one is forcibly reminded of another ideal character. I am referring to King David, who is not only so regarded by the Jews but also by Christians and Mohammedans. The great psalmist was also a very aggressive and pious man, but at the height of his glory he did not hesitate to commit the sexual crime with Mrs. Uriah, the lawful wife of one of his active generals whom he ordered to be killed in order to escape the wrath of this outraged husband. Well, the Lord sent his prophet Nathan, who gave him a good calling down for it. David wrote a psalm which has been repeated ever since by devout sinners, and then married the lady in question. Nowadays not even a successful king could get away so lightly with such an affair. Psalms or no psalms, all modern men must renounce much of their sex aggression. Lincoln wrote the famous address at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery, he could not write any psalms because he was not conscious of committing adultery. But yet he was a very repressed being and one of his outlets was coprophilic wit of aggression. Perhaps if the biographers would have kept a record of those pithy but indelicate Lincoln jokes it might have helped some equally minded but repressed individuals to leave behind great names instead of repeat King David's

psalm and remain disgraced forever. For in order to be happy one must nowadays get some substitute for reality. The substitute may in itself be a bit shocking but it is much better for the individual and society than to follow reality. Which recalls the following joke:

A missionary was shipwrecked near what he imagined was a cannibal island. He was in mortal terror of the savages so that he remained in the thickest part of the forest. One day he suddenly heard voices, he became terrified, thinking that his end was near. He listened tensely and heard: "What in hell did you play this card for!" He got on his knees, raised his hands in prayer and said: "Thank the Lord they are Christians."

Now the missionary recognized the Christians by the fact that they cursed and gambled, the cannibals could do no such things. But then the cannibal needs no such substitutes. He lives his natural life without much repression. He kills or is killed as the case may be, so that he needs no cursing as substitutes, he does not expect anything for nothing so he needs no gambling. He is just like the child in this regard; when the child begins to develop a sense of humor and begins to curse it is already alive to the burdens of civilization; it is already repressing and compromises on substitutes. Smutty jokes are nothing but substitutes for natural sex. For years I have asked my patients to tell the best jokes they ever heard. I don't ask this question until I am sure that the patient will tell me exactly what comes to his mind. Most of the answers were obtained from ladies and gentlemen of the highest type. I have read some of the answers before a group of scientific men and they enjoyed hearing them, but they all agreed with me that, like most of the Lincoln witticisms, not one of these jokes was fit to print.

When one watches the trend of the times one observes that as soon as a new taboo comes into existence one is sure

to hear all sorts of jokes cracked about it. It is for the same reason that government and marriage furnish so much material for wit. Both are artificial institutions which the average individual finds hard to bear, and as marriage, which is only a phase of sex, touches more vitally the individual than any other cultural institution, it is the principal theme in wit. Although long accepted as an absolutely necessary state in the life of every normal person it is forever criticized and blamed. The following illustration sums up the situation:

Same Symptoms

Simpson (greeting his old friend): "*Why, Jones, it's ages since I saw you last. Married now, aren't you?*"

Jones: "*No, no, old man, it's not that. Just business worry and nerves.*"—(*The Bulletin*—Sydney.)

In describing some of the more important mechanisms of wit, my main purpose was to pave the way for the psychological mechanisms of the dream. There are many resemblances between the two psychic phenomena, both in technique and formation. Such mechanism as condensation, displacement, etc., play no small part in the technique of wit, and as we shall see in the following chapters, they are found also in the technique of dreams. We regard them as quite natural processes in wit only because we are so much more accustomed to wit than to dreams. The formation of wit resembles also the formation of dreams: both are unconscious psychic activities. Wit, like the dream, is an involuntary mental occurrence. That is why one cannot tell a moment before what joke one is going to crack. The above cited witticism made by the divine addressing the ladies' club nicely illustrates this mechanism.

But there are also some differences between the dream and the wit. The most important of these is that wit is a social product; it often requires three persons, and in its tendency,

PSYCHOANALYSIS

always requires the participation of at least one other person. The dream, on the other hand, is a perfect individual psychic function, it is of the most personal character and has no interest whatever for the outside world; one likes to hear a good joke but unless one knows the meaning of dreams, he is bored to distraction when they are recited by the fellow boarder at the breakfast table.

CHAPTER VI

THE DREAM: ITS FUNCTION AND MOTIVE

"I believe it to be true that dreams are the true interpreters of our inclinations, but there is art required to sort and understand them."
—MONTAIGNE.

HITHERTO we have dwelt on those mechanisms that we find both in the normal and abnormal spheres, the mechanisms that may be readily explained on a normal basis. We shall now enter upon the subject of dreams, which, though observed in every normal person, present nevertheless a departure from normal conscious processes. The dream has always been a subject of great interest and from time immemorial has received considerable speculation. We find allusion to it in all the earliest writings, to say nothing of the literature of modern times in which it receives an ever increasing amount of attention.

It is noteworthy what a variety of ideas one meets in the literature on the subject. Some of them, I am glad to say, show some signs of logic; the late literature is particularly useful and instructive in that definite problems have been investigated. Most of the material, however, is woefully deficient of any clear or definite conception of the nature or meaning of the dream. You may all know that the ancients attributed it to some altogether external force; it was either a demon or God himself that was responsible for it. The scriptures tell us that "What God is about to do, he sheweth unto Pharaoh." To the Greeks there were good and evil deities that presided over it. These views have come down

to us traditionally, and we may say that the present popular belief in dreams differs in no respect from that of the classical Greeks and the ancient Egyptians. It is also noteworthy that the laity still continues to believe in their importance. In Europe it is quite common for people gambling on lotteries to have a little dream book which gives both interpretations and corresponding numbers. They play the numbers corresponding to the dream, and if they win, it is the dream to which they attribute their success.

Everybody dreams, and those who think they do not dream may be easily convinced to the contrary by a very simple **External and Internal Stimuli and Dreams** experiment. Make up your mind on retiring that if you have a dream you will recall it, and you will undoubtedly be convinced the next morning that you are no exception to the rule. I have known many people who, at first, insisted that they do not dream but who soon had to admit that they were mistaken.

There are those who believe that dreams are caused by a disturbance of the stomach. How grossly untrue this conception is may readily be seen from a careful study and observation of one's dreams. The condition of the stomach has nothing to do with the psychic determinant of the dream, though it is true that the dream may be more easily recalled if the sleep is disturbed. For it is then that the dreamer is thrown into a state commonly designated as the dreamy, or crepuscular, state which is most conducive to the remembering of the dream. This fact accounts for the popular conception: people generally have observed that they dream when their sleep is disturbed and have, therefore, associated the origin of the phenomenon with the condition of the stomach.

There is no doubt, however, that internal and external stimuli give rise to dreams. Attend, for instance, to your

alarm clock and you will find usually on awaking that you have dreamed. But these stimuli do not determine the psychic content of the dream, they merely serve as dream inciters. It is a well known fact, borne out by the experiments of many investigators in this field, that the same stimulus may incite different dreams at different times and in different individuals. Thus with an alarm clock acting as a stimulus one person may see himself going to church on an early Sunday morning and hear the church bells ringing, while another person may see a wagon full of tin cans and an automobile colliding with it. What is highly significant to note here is that a short stimulus may produce a dream which will often require a half hour to describe.

There was an interesting discussion a number of years ago in the *Revue Philosophique* in Paris on a dream that the dreamer described as follows: It was during the French Revolution; he saw himself present at a session of the National Convention; many royal personages were brought before it, tried and condemned to die. He could see how they were being led away on the cabriolets, placed on the guillotine and beheaded. Suddenly he himself was arrested, having been accused of some crime. He appeared before the Convention, defended himself, remembering the speech that he made, how he argued with the public prosecutor, and how finally he was sentenced to death. He was hurried off on the tumbrel, then taken from the prison to the guillotine. His head was placed on the block, he felt the blade strike the back of his neck, and presently he awoke to find that a board of the bed fell and struck him on the back of the neck.

The question that naturally arises here is: "How is it that so short a stimulus produced so long a dream? How long did the dream take, how was it possible to crowd all that material which required so much time to write down, into a

space of apparently a few seconds?" The board struck him, he awoke, and remembered the dream. Many explanations were presented, but with the exception of Prof. Freud who has succeeded in unravelling the secret of the dream generally, none of the writers really explained the mechanism. Analysis reveals that the dreamer was a Frenchman. As a boy he read the French Revolution, and like all boys, lived right through this stirring and romantic period. I have already drawn your attention, I think, in another connection to the psychic mechanism of identification, by virtue of which we read ourselves into a situation of marked affective content or live through the life of an individual whom we love or admire. In reading we usually select the hero or heroine upon whom we fix this marked interest; sometimes, too, I am bold enough to say, we may even identify ourselves with the villain. We feel deeply with whatever individual we identify ourselves with; we are with him in his moments of profound sorrow and joy, we live his life, as it were. It is nothing unusual to see one weep in the theater at some serious turn of fortune in the story of our "favorite" character. This mode of projecting ourselves into the lives of others, this profound and powerful sense of sympathy with their deeper experiences is quite unconscious and continues throughout life. A little boy reading about Indians may identify himself with the brave and virtuous Indian, or with the scout. Many women have come under my notice whose whole course of life was determined by a certain book or series of books by a particular author; unconsciously and sometimes even consciously they governed their lives according to the characters depicted in the story, particularly according to some special character that strongly appealed to them. Now the identification mechanism enables us to endow every scene, every situation that appeals to us with a certain emotional warmth and tone. We may only seem-

ingly forgot a situation that once had profoundly stirred us, but it always remains in the unconscious; it has rooted itself in our inmost thoughts and feelings, it has become a part of us. Any conscious or unconscious association may bring it back to the mind with all its former vividness. That is what happened in the case of the dreamer. As a boy he read the story of the Revolution with breathless interest. The unfortunates who were guillotined particularly impressed him; he absorbed to the full the pathos, the horror, the terrible meaning of the situation. And now when the board fell on the back of his neck, it recalled, by association, the whole situation, in all its vividness and with all its attending emotions. The thoughts and feelings associated with the execution were registered in the mind and were now brought to the surface by this external stimulus. The action was similar to what we find in the theater: the stage manager pushes the button and the scene shifter brings on the appropriate scene. The external stimulus, by an accidental association, served to bring into play a whole group of formerly accentuated ideas and emotions.

Internal stimuli act in the same way. If, for instance, you experience certain sensations in your stomach to-day that you had five years ago, the likelihood is that your dreams will have a resemblance in some way to those of the former period. When we bear this in mind, we do not have to resort to supernatural causes to account for the fact that some people can foretell by a certain dream that they are going to be sick. Long before one is conscious of his sickness, long before, for instance, the mucous membrane of the nose and throat becomes so swollen that it begins to run and ache, the congestion starts and arouses associations in the mind which recall some similar situation in the past. That is enough to cause the individual to dream of the sickness. One woman actually had the same type of dream every time

before she got a cold in the head, as she called it. We observe this phenomenon under different forms in every-day life. Patients in speaking to me of certain ailments, let us say, periodic headaches, may often tell me how glad they are that they did not have the headache for the last three months. I am not at all pleased to hear this, for I know that the fact that they thought of it is already an indication that it is coming on, but that it has not as yet manifested itself to consciousness. To be sure, I learn the next day that the headache has arrived. A disease does not manifest itself suddenly; long before the person consciously knows that he is sick, he experiences, though vaguely, some feeling of depression or uneasiness that carries with it a sense of foreboding to those who are ignorant of the psychological significance of the condition. That undoubtedly accounts for the fact that both among primitive and modern people the sneeze was always greeted with some formula that signified the wish to avert evil. Undoubtedly primitive man learned empirically that whenever he began to sneeze some disease would follow, because practically all serious diseases begin with coryza. One has a right to believe that primitive man had less chance to overcome such diseases as pneumonia and other infectious or contagious diseases than his modern brother, and as sneezing was invariably followed by disease which often ended fatally, primitive man naturally tried to stop it through incantations. I feel that this really explains the sneezing ceremonial in a much simpler way and is nearer to the truth than the explanation offered by Dr. Wallace in his interesting dissertation on "The Romance and the Tragedy of Sneezing."¹

In physical, as well as in mental life, a certain stimulus is required before a certain reaction is produced. I am sure that those of you who have studied academic psychology

¹ *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 9, No. 6.

will recall the Weber-Fechner law of the relation of stimulus to intensity of sensation,—the intensity of the one being directly proportional to the intensity of the other. One of the experiments that we perform in the examination of patients, particularly when we wish to determine their degree of attention, is to expose pictures to them very rapidly, the exposure lasting only a few seconds. We then ask them to tell us what they observed. A great many will declare at first that they saw nothing, but upon urging them to tell you what comes to their mind, they invariably will mention something that has a more or less fundamental resemblance to the picture. I show a person a Japanese scene, and he declares at first that he saw nothing. I urge him to reflect, and he soon replies, "Well, I think of China." You see that he noted the resemblance, although he has not consciously seen the picture. In order to be heard, I do not have to speak to you here, for instance, as loudly as I would have to in the subway. But if I whisper here, you may not hear me, but the stimulus is present, the sound is here. In other words, I may say that before you see, you have already seen, before you hear, you have already heard, but the stimulus was not sufficiently strong to make you feel conscious of the sensation.

Incidentally, I may say that if you remember this important law in psychology, you will be able to understand many of the occurrences to which people generally attribute so much importance. You are often asked to explain, for example, how it is that when you talk of Mr. Brown, he is sure to appear. The fact is that you either saw or heard Mr. Brown before you talked about him. Let us remember that our senses tell us much more than we generally suppose, and though we have little confidence in them, they still operate, and render us knowledge long before we are

really conscious of it. You may be on the avenue speaking to your friend, when somebody passes who has aroused certain associations in your brain. You begin to talk about him, although you have not consciously seen him, and suddenly, to your great surprise, he stands there before you in his own flesh and blood. "Talk of the devil, and he is sure to appear." But he has been there in your field of vision long before you actually saw him.

But I may be reminded: "I talked about a man while being in the house and to be sure, he came in." Usually we can hear the person approaching, and I still have to find the person who knows somebody well, but cannot recognize the latter's footsteps. At home we can always tell who is coming, whether mother, father, or some other intimate person. We may also explain on this basis such occurrences as find expression in the following characteristic remark: "How do you account for my receiving a letter from a woman whom I have not heard from for a long time, and strange, I talked about her only yesterday?" When you investigate you find that there is a similar mechanism involved, that the situation presents nothing at all mysterious or psychic. You have established a certain connection in your mind between that person and yourself. At about that period you think of a sudden of that individual by virtue of a psychic process to which I have already drawn your attention under the term of "Post-hypnotic suggestion;" that is to say, at the expiration of a certain time, a certain impression received in the past will recur, and revive an old association.

The underlying nature and meaning of the dream was not known until Prof. Freud propounded his theories. All sorts of interpretations were presented but there was no general, fundamental conception. In analyzing his patients Freud found that they all dreamed and the question presented itself, "Are dreams psychic mechanisms or do they

represent sheer nonsense, having no relation to the individual's psychic life?" The answer involved a fundamental conception; everything both in physical and mental life has a reason; as in the physical, so in the psychic sphere, there is nothing that has not some function. We have tears, not merely to weep, but to keep the eyes constantly moist to wash them; otherwise they would be coated with dust that would make it impossible for us to see. We have sweat glands in order to equalize the temperature of the body, and saliva to assist in deglution and digestion generally. In the same way every psychic function has its *raison d'être*. The question then, was "Why do we dream?" He thoroughly investigated the literature on the subject but it was not there that the answer was to be found. It was only as he delved deeper and deeper into the symptom and saw its profound intimate connection with the dream, that he was approaching a solution of the problem. He began to see that the dream is a perfect psychic mechanism, that it is not at all arbitrary, but that it has a definite relation to the individual's psychic life. The deeper he probed the dream, the more did its wisdom and underlying sense of order grow upon him, until finally he formulated the thesis that "a dream is the hidden fulfillment of a repressed wish." In other words, a dream is a wish that the individual could not realize in the waking state.

The
Dream
the
Guardian
of Sleep

Now before dilating on this conclusion, let me go back to the function of the dream. During the day we all think of a host of things; I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that hundreds and hundreds of thoughts run through the mind; they glide by and we are not even conscious of them. But there are always some problems coming up that absorb us. It is well known that if any question should continue to engage our attention to a marked degree, it would be impossible for us to fall asleep. We are all aware that

any strong or poignant emotion, whether it be one of pleasure or pain, may keep one awake. An individual who is elated does not wish to sleep, and for that matter, cannot sleep, because his senses are too alive and high-strung. To sleep it is necessary to exclude all sensations from all organs. We go to bed so that we may relax; the lights are turned out in order to exclude all sensory stimulations. Experiment has demonstrated that sleep is usually induced when sensations are thus excluded. All sensory impressions have been shut out from animals and sleep usually followed. Thus, when there is any problem engrossing the mind, the tendency is not to fall asleep. Now what are the things that would keep us awake? They are usually those that we have not been able to attain, or those we have not been able to solve. One works out a problem, thinking to himself: "If I can put that through, I will be fortunate: my future will be assured. If I cannot execute it, I do not know what I am to do: I will lose my position and will not be able to take care of my family." He goes to bed and dwells on the problem. He would probably continue with it throughout the whole night were it not for his wish to sleep. What actually happens then is that the mind takes the problem and weaves it into a dream. The dream then realizes the wish and thus makes sleep possible.

In every-day life we know that once a question is solved, there is no further need for preoccupation with it. It is merely a matter of how to solve an existing problem. A child goes to sleep, crying; it wants a doll. The mother quickly appeases it by granting the wish. So far so good; but this same child has now grown older and wants something that the mother cannot so easily secure. Now it has to go without it, but as it wishes to sleep, the problem is solved in a different way. Nature assures our rest by seemingly granting us our wishes. The child now dreams

that it has obtained what it was refused in reality. Likewise, if you should go to bed to-night after eating a very salty supper, you will undoubtedly desire water at night, but instead of waking up, particularly if the room is cold, you will dream that you are slaking your thirst with some refreshing water, or if you are more fortunately constituted, with some stronger and more inviting beverage. This is a very common "convenience" dream. If you retire hungry, you will invariably dream that you are eating. I spoke to Professor Macmillan who went with Peary to the North Pole and he told me what great pleasure they had experienced in their dreams. The reason is quite clear. These men who had known the delicacies of New York restaurants, were compelled to live on pemmican and a simple Arctic Zone diet. They dreamed of the things they were anxious to have. They smoked fine cigars and drank highballs in their sleep. Children invariably show that they dream of those things that they cannot have in the waking state. Children's dreams and the so-called convenience dreams of adults are thus open wishes. When the dreams, however, are not of this type, the situation is quite different, and it is here that we encounter serious difficulties in understanding them.

To appreciate how the dream acts as the guardian of sleep, consider with me the following case of a business man who had been with his firm for a number of years, whose ability was recognized, but for whom there was manifestly no real place in the proposed reorganization of the business. In order to remain in the new organization he must show that he can be a factor in it, that there is a special department that he can manage; otherwise he realizes that he will have to lose his position. He evolves a scheme which he is to present the next morning before the board of trustees. He goes to bed, constantly thinking of the matter: he sees himself before the board, he anticipates the arguments of his

two opponents, he wonders what best reply to make. The clock strikes, one, two, and three, but he is still awake. Finally exhausted, he falls asleep and has the following dream: *He is swimming in the New York Bay on a board which he is able to manipulate just as if it were an excellent motor boat. The steamers are going and coming, but he is by no means disconcerted: every time a big boat approaches, he very deftly steers out of its course, or rides over the waves with ease and pleasure. He is enjoying the swim immensely.* He awoke with a feeling of satisfaction. When he came to me the next day, he wondered what sort of wish his dream could represent. I reminded him at once that the dream is not always an open wish but a hidden realization of a repressed wish. The interpretation is simple enough. He was to appear the next day, as I said, before the board of trustees to lay before it his plans for the reorganization of the business; he knew that unless he could convince them to accept his scheme, he would lose his position. He knew furthermore, that some members of the board were antagonistic to him and would raise objections regardless of whatever plans he proposed; on the other hand, he was aware that most of the members were favorably disposed toward him. It was some time before he fell asleep, because his mind was constantly dwelling on the whole situation. He would have remained awake throughout the night, but as he was tired and wished to sleep, the disturbing problem had to be solved in some way. This could only be effected by weaving his emotionally accentuated ideas into a dream which represented his wish as accomplished. When I asked him what his dream recalled he told me he used to engage, as a boy, in swimming races on *boards* on the Ohio River, in which he was highly proficient. And so you see, because he was thinking of how to control the board, a situation in the past presented itself to him in which he actually managed boards

THE DREAM: ITS FUNCTION AND MOTIVE 151

skilfully and won. The mechanism of "*double entendre*," double meaning of a word, reproduced in his mind a scene from boyhood in which he had perfect control of a board. It was a different board, to be sure, but that made little difference in the unconscious, the important thing was that he was able to guide it through all obstacles. The dream not only enabled him to sleep but the pain of to-morrow's uncertainty was replaced by pleasant feelings of his remote past. Thus the dream was the producer as well as the guardian of sleep.

From the above dream we may see the first difficulty in dream analysis, viz., that the language of the dream is visual: we see images, we express ideas in symbols. Whereas in the waking state, "to see" is used in the literal as well as the more or less figurative sense of "to understand," in the sleeping state we use it entirely in its literal significance. We do not think in the dream in any logical sense, we merely see a succession of images, which had been stored in the mind in the past. It would have been otherwise impossible for the dreamer who dreamed about the French Revolution to condense, as he did, so much thought in a few seconds; what the dream really did was to revive pictures in his mind that he actually gleaned from history books or that his own imagination may have created, while he was immersed in his reading.

Abstract ideas in dreams can only be represented graphically. In this respect the dreamer acts like the child or the artist. I have asked many people how they would represent, for instance, the abstract idea of charity on canvas or in marble, and I have never found two individuals who gave me exactly the same description. It is noteworthy that they always describe the first thing that comes to their mind. One person may see a haggard, decrepit woman, in a shawl, holding out her hand, and a well dressed lady giving her

coins; another may see a little girl, ragged and frozen, begging alms, and a man pausing to help her. And so the pictures vary with each individual. But the significant thing that analysis reveals is that all these people invariably reproduce something that they had formerly experienced. When I asked, for instance, the person that gave me the first representation above to tell me what it suggested to him, he recalled a trip in Italy where he actually witnessed many such scenes in which an American woman would pause to give alms to some Italian beggar. Everybody has his own memory images for abstract ideas, which, although unconscious, have their peculiar, special meaning to him, and are represented in dreams in their original form.

Thus one of my patients associated in his dream a certain woman whom he knew with grief, because he thought of her as a "funeral bird" in the waking state. Likewise one may utilize in the dream any situation representing in his mind some idea or emotion, as a symbol for a certain feeling a certain "Stimmung." That is why it is wrong to attempt to interpret a dream without a knowledge of what the particular image represents in the particular person's mind. There are, to be sure, some dreams that evince ethnic symbols to which definite meanings may be ascribed, but you have to be extremely careful even with those; they may have an altogether different significance in different individuals. In other words, the meaning of the dream cannot usually be known unless the dreamer is well known to the analyst.

The following dream is a fine example of how abstract thoughts are visualized concretely in dreams. Miss S. dreamed that she "*passed a very tall building from which smoke came out. Then some flames burst forth. I could feel the awful heat.*"

Analysis: Miss S. is not very fortunate in love. She is well educated, intelligent, and good-looking, but a little too

reserved to suit the average young man. She had many admirers, but for some reason or other the eligible man either failed to appear, or made little progress toward matrimony. The day before the dream she visited a friend, who jokingly teased her about T., one of her admirers. She heard that he was a "steady caller," as she put it, and wanted to know when the engagement would be announced, and so on. Miss S. was embarrassed, and protested that there was no truth in the rumor, that it was nothing but idle gossip. Secretly, however, she cherished the thought that T. might marry her. The conversation ended with the significant remark from her friend, "Where there's smoke there must be fire." The dream fulfills her wish. The very tall building is herself,—she is very tall. She sees the smoke, then the flames, and can feel the awful heat. The saying, where there is smoke there is fire, is simply visualized by the dream, and as the dreamer is the chief actor of the dream, she is the tall building. A building or house, as is well known, is an old symbol for the body. We often speak of the body as the house we live in. Fire and heat are symbols of love.

An interesting little example of this identification of love with fire is found in one of Maupassant's short stories, "Always Lock the Door," which many of you perhaps have read. An old bachelor relates how his first real adventure in love miscarried by his failure to lock the door. He invited his fair friend to his private room one day, but to his great distress, found that he had no fire because the chimney smoked. "The very evening before," he goes on to tell us, "I had spoken to my landlord, a retired shopkeeper, about it, and he had promised that he would send for the chimney sweep in a day or two to get it all put to right. As soon as she came in I said, 'There is no fire because my chimney smokes.' She did not even appear to hear me but stammered, 'That does not matter, I have. . . .'"

Apart from the fact that the language of the dream is visual, another difficulty in dream analysis is that when the dream wishes to represent something hidden, it resorts to the same mechanisms that we use in the waking state when we wish to express something indirectly; that is to say, it has recourse to the "double entendre," double meaning, distortions and similar mechanisms. I need not give you examples; all you have to do is to think of the theatre, of the different witticisms you hear and read; you will then realize that in a sense nobody expresses himself truthfully. Writers frequently resort to all sorts of detours, euphemisms and symbolisms when they wish to express something which would sound either harsh or objectionable to polite society. Thus we find that the words thigh and staff are often used in the Bible to express that part which represents the male. No one is ashamed of taking nourishment, if he is hungry, or of quenching thirst, if he is thirsty, and that is why convenience dreams are quite open. But it is quite different with the other necessities of nature and with the functions appertaining to sex. Most people are trained to conceal all manifestations of the sex impulse, and as a result, all expression in this sphere is indirect and distorted even in the waking state. It is instructive to note, for instance, some of the indirect expressions, such as the "curse" or the "old woman" that women use in referring to menstruation, a physiological function of which no one indeed need be ashamed. It is not at all surprising, then, that this secret language in which we speak about sex functions, should so often baffle us.

A woman, for example, related to me the following dream: "*I was sleeping with a very disagreeable old lady and was quite disgusted.*" She wished to know how such a dream could represent a wish. When I asked her for associations, she replied that nothing came to her mind; there was no one

with whom she could identify this "old lady." Then I inquired what she had done the day previous to the dream, for we must remember to seek the determinant of the dream in that immediate past; the determinant is invariably an occurrence of the day previous to the dream. Some stimulus or impression through any one of the senses strikes, as it were, something similar in the mind with which the latter is engrossed, something that has emotional tone; and it is this that gives rise to the dream. I learned presently that the woman had been at a party the night before, at which one of the men proposed to take her horse-back riding on Sunday. She went on to tell me that she feared that she could not accept the invitation; I inquired what reason she had for having to decline it and she informed me, after a little resistance, that she was afraid she might menstruate on that day. It occurred to me then to ask her how she designates this function: "Why, we call it the 'disagreeable old woman,'" I learned. Here you have the analysis of the dream. When the young man invited her to go riding on Sunday, she wished to accept but expecting to menstruate on that day she had to give an indefinite answer. She turned to her sister who understood her and said: "I am afraid that the old woman might come." But as she was very anxious to go, she dreamed that she had already menstruated, that she had gone through with the disagreeable affair, that the "old lady" had already been with her. Upon superficial examination, then, it would have been nonsense to say that the dream represented a wish, but once you understand what is going on in the dreamer's mind, the deeper meaning becomes evident. I repeat, then, in order to analyze a dream, it is absolutely necessary to know the dreamer well, not only as he is on parade, but in those moments when he is most himself; you must know his intimate personality, and his idiomatic expressions, as it were.

As an example of how dream analysis is made difficult by the "distortion" mechanism, consider the following dream related to me by a patient: He dreamed he was translating Latin. "*I used the word 'whine' and the teacher said it should be 'when' not 'whine.'*" Upon analysis it was found that the teacher in the dream represented myself, that the séances with me reminded him of going to school again, of coming to me, as to a teacher, and asking me questions. Associating further, he presently recalled that the week before he felt very much depressed; he came to me and complained bitterly. I told him not to "whine," that he would surely get well, but that it was only a question of time,—i. e. "when." But why did he have to take up Latin? The first association that came to his mind apropos of that was that whenever he attended his Latin hour, he was always nervous: he used an interlinear. I accordingly told him that he must be cheating with me, too, and he admitted that he was; he declared that there were certain things that he felt he could not reveal to me, that indeed it was rather foolish to think that one has to disclose everything to the physician. As you see, he was trying to use an interlinear again, but it did not work. I informed him that he would recover when he ceased whining; "when?"—"When you begin to tell the truth; when you do not use an interlinear, when you will be willing to become independent of outside help."

Another example of distortion as found in dreams may be seen in the following case. One of my patients related to me how he was present at the usual New Year's Eve dinner that his father-in-law is accustomed to give to the whole family. At the appropriate moment, the head of the family rose and made a speech in which he commented on every member of the family in his wonted good-natured way. In summing up the results of the past year, the old gentleman observed; "When I look upon the assets and the liabilities of

the year everyone of you is on the asset side." At this the patient smiled and thought to himself: "What about your son, the black sheep of the family who is causing you so much trouble?" This son was quite a serious problem to his father, he was considered the black sheep of the family. He was a ne'er-do-well, because he was absolutely unable to tell the truth; he was a pathological liar of the first order. Following this incident the patient dreamed that he saw a balance sheet, under the assets were the names of the various members of the family, under the liabilities there was just the name of the son. But instead of "liabilities" the word was spelt thus: "Lie-abilities." The distortion in this dream is exactly of the same character as that found in witticisms. When a New York critic, for instance, in reviewing a play, the first two acts of which he evidently considered very good, the third rather poor, remarked: "The first two acts are capital, the third is labor," he was merely resorting to a technique which is by no means uncommon in dreams.

CHAPTER VII

THE DREAM: ITS FUNCTION AND MOTIVE (Continued)

WE posit the fundamental principle that the motive of the dream is the wish. The individual craves for something, but as he cannot attain it in reality, by virtue of its unattainable or disagreeable nature, he realizes it in the dream. When one assures you that he does not dream it simply means that he does not remember his dreams, and that, because he is little interested in the problem of dreams, and last but not least because as its function ceases on awakening the repression reasserts itself. To be sure, some dream more than others. Of the many writers who have investigated this subject, there was one Santo de Sanctis of Rome who held that criminals do not dream. You can readily see what the explanation would be in the light of our theories. A criminal does not as a rule repress much; whenever he wants something, he immediately sets about attaining it. When the average normal person sees something that he wants, but that he knows is absolutely beyond his reach, he has learned not even to desire it consciously, in any real sense. The criminal does not, however, react in this manner. What has caught his fancy he immediately sets out to gain; by virtue of his weakmindedness no fear of society and law stays him. Because he does not repress, he inevitably has nothing to dream about. I have found from my own experience, however, that Santo de Sanctis was not entirely right in his conclusions, that whereas most criminals I have questioned did not really

dream as much as the average person, they all admitted nevertheless that they dream occasionally. After all, there is no human being who can attain all his wishes.

In order to understand why the dream should thus be motived by the wish it is necessary to have some idea of the evolution of the child from the very beginning. The average child expresses no wishes, all its wants are gratified by its mother; it lies in the cradle, frolics when satisfied, cries when hungry or uncomfortable. Gradually, as it grows older its demands multiply and become more marked; it is then that the situation becomes a problem. Observe a child that does not as yet know how to express itself in speech and you will find that it wants everything that it sees in its environment; it will pull you to the object of its fancy; it craves to grasp and hold it. The older it grows, the more imperious become its wants. When it has learned to talk, you can readily see how powerfully the wish predominates in life; the child demands all the time, nothing can satisfy it.

The child starts its life with what we call the pleasure principle; it craves for nothing but pleasure. It eats, sleeps, and plays. When it is satisfied, it finds pleasure in sucking its thumb; and the Germans very aptly call thumb-sucking *Wonne-saugen*, pleasure sucking. When it has once experienced a pleasure it will always seek to reproduce it. Specialists have accordingly advised mothers not to rock a child to sleep all the time. For motion is the most elementary form of pleasure and manifests itself throughout our lives. It may interest you to know that it is at the basis of our love for dancing and all other enjoyments. In all popular amusement resorts that I have visited both here and on the continent 99% of the pleasure is essentially based on this principle. We find here a reversion to an infantile mode of gratification.

Gradually, however, society begins to curb the child;

parents cannot give it everything and it begins to feel the force of repression. The older it grows, the more it has to cope with the principle of reality; education and all other cultural forces are based on the realization that the individual has to be prepared to face that stern fact. If he does not adjust himself to reality, he will flounder about and finally fail, despite everything one may do to help him. I saw a man a few weeks ago whose parents were multi-millionaires; he was brought up in the most attractive environment. He was destined for the army, sent to West Point, stayed there a year and a half and was then expelled on demerits; he would not follow the rules of discipline nor study. When he related to me some of his escapades I could not help but wonder how he ever succeeded in staying at the academy as long as he did. But he explained to me that his father was very influential and had considerable weight with the authorities. Expelled from West Point, he matriculated in other schools, but could not get along in any one of them. He was hail-fellow-well-met with the students, for he had plenty of money to spend, but he could not study. "Why should I? What's the use?" he would say to himself. When his father died, he came into his own rights and within two or three years he spent not only every cent he had, but all that his mother could give him. When the war broke out he enlisted. A great many of his old classmates were now colonels in the regular army; one of them who liked him needed a sergeant-major and so took him into his regiment. He did quite well for a time, but was presently compelled to leave the post. He was sent to the guard house and it was there that he passed most of his time throughout the whole war. He would have made a good fighter, but he was absolutely unable to adapt himself to the demands of reality; he could not be disciplined. He could not bear to have "those idiots," as he called some of

his superiors, tell him what to do. Recently a Major of the Medical Corps advised him to see me. He was ragged and torn when he came to me. I learned that he was a dish washer in one of the hotels in the city, and had just been "fired." The man is quite normal intellectually; he is merely a spoiled child, emotionally untrained and wild. He was able to do as he wanted when he had money, but now, as he put it, he was "down and out." And so it is absolutely impossible for the individual to get along in the world, unless he adjusts himself to the principle of reality, which means nothing more nor less than the principle of inhibitions and repressions. Education in the final analysis is nothing but a means of equipping the individual with those impressions that have already been gathered by others in order that he may thus be fitted to face and overcome the difficulties and obstacles of life, to cope with the problems of reality.

The child's education, accordingly, begins at a very early period. Long before he actually enters school, he has been receiving at home all this while instruction of the most vital importance; he has been learning all this while to *repress*. Mothers and fathers who have observed carefully the development of the child know but too well that the first word that it learns to speak is "no," it is not at all "dada" or "mama." It either moves its head to say "no," or actually says it. The reason is clear. There is nothing that you wish the child to do that it wants to do; it always insists on doing things in its own way. Immediately corrective forces begin to operate and the individual who was destined by nature to be free and lead a lawless existence is curbed finally to the demands of actual life. Centuries of civilization have left their mark upon us, and we must now live accordingly. No one, I dare say, would wish to live after the manner of our primitive ancestors. There is therefore

a constant struggle: no one likes to submit to the repression that the inhibitory aspects of civilization demand; no one finds it easy to repress the primitive impulses. Thus it may be said in truth that the individual begins with "no" from his very infancy, and continues to declare it more and more vociferously until his death. His life, one might say, is one long struggle, one bitter revolt. In the light of this principle the idea of absolute independence and happiness takes on a rather sombre aspect. For no matter what you may do for the individual, he cannot be in any final sense happy or independent, for what he really wants is something that goes back to his infantile life. In the very nature of things, then, we can never be satisfied; no individual can ever be absolutely contented with his environment, there is always room for improvement. There is a story that runs through my mind which some of you may have perhaps heard. It is the story of a king whose only child, a little girl, became ill. He had the very best doctors attending on her; the chief physician finally informed him that the child was helpless, that nothing could be done to save her. The king waxed angry. "You mean to say that with all your knowledge and sciences you cannot do anything for the child?" he demanded. "It suffers from a condition that is incurable," replied the physician. The king became furious and began to threaten. At last one of the doctors declared that there was but one thing that could cure the child, and that was for her to wear the shirt of one who was perfectly happy. The king was glad, for he thought that that was simple enough to do; immediately he had the news heralded through the town. But it was impossible to find such a person. Meanwhile the child's condition was growing more serious and the king was in great distress. Immersed in dark thoughts, he took a walk on the outskirts of the city. Presently he met a young ragamuffin, a shepherd boy,

whistling and very joyful. "You seem to be very happy?" said the king. "Yes," answered the boy. "But do tell me, what makes you so happy?" inquired the king. "Why shouldn't I be? Everything is lovely. Jane loves me and I am going to marry her soon. I just feel fine." "Did you hear that the king is looking for some one who is perfectly happy?" the king continued. "Yes, I heard of it, but I haven't a shirt," was the shepherd's reply. You see only a person who can be satisfied without having a shirt, can really be happy, but are there such persons outside of the lunatic asylum?

Now the significant thing to note is that although society has actually succeeded in training the individual to forego and renounce and thus to adjust himself to prevailing conditions, we nevertheless find, when we examine his intimate psychological recesses, that he really never foregoes his desires absolutely, that he has a way of realizing them. In dreams, symptoms, and in the manifold unconscious activities of every-day life the individual is still able to realize his wishes.

Consider for a moment a child who is little acquainted with the force of repression. I once observed a little girl of about four years of age who took a fancy to a little wagon that another child was playing with. She went directly up to her, got hold of the string and wanted to take away the little cart, but at the owner's loud protests, the nurse soon hurried up and compelled her to leave. The little girl's mother reprimanded her in these words, "You must not do that, that's not yours, that's the other little girl's wagon." Jane cried so bitterly that her mother finally gave her some chalk to play with. Presently she drew some figure on the sidewalk and pointing to it, cried: "Here's a little wagon." I can assure you there was hardly any resemblance to the real object, but there was enough likeness there to impress the child. In

other words, the little girl actually realized her wish; she now had that play toy that she wanted so badly.

A little girl continued to cry for candy until she finally fell asleep. She awoke the next morning crying and when asked for the reason, said that some one took away her box of chocolate almonds; she insisted that she had them in bed. She was only a little over two years old and was barely able to talk. Undoubtedly the child dreamed that she had a big box of chocolate almonds, thus actually realizing her wish, and unable to distinguish between dream and reality, cried on awaking.

As the child grows older, however, one may observe how the wish becomes more and more distorted in the dream. There are more and more complex mechanisms appearing that reveal that the child's nature is growing more and more comprehensive; so long as its mode of reaction was simple, its dreams were simple. There is no difficulty in analyzing a child's dream below the age of five; it is later that the force of repression begins to manifest itself. It is noteworthy that it develops also at this time a sense of humor. As we have shown above, humor and wit are nothing but modes of obtaining pleasure from a distortion of words and ideas, and as long as the child is young, it has no need for them. When a child bursts out in laughter, it does so because some one else laughs, it is not a spontaneous activity with it. Gradually children develop more ideas and repress considerably more; laughter is then the result of a complicated stimulus. In my walks with my little girl in the park, I used to take her to a place where horses were usually watered. For about a year, every time I passed it, I would remark: "Here we bring the 'autos' to be watered," to which she answered nothing. One day I made the same remark, and she looked at me quizzically, smiled and said: "Autos don't have to be watered." When she came home

she told her mother of the funny thing I had said. It is significant that her dreams at this period began to assume a distorted aspect; she already showed all the marks of a complex mind; the associations were no longer simple.

The dream assumes, then, a more and more complex and distorted character as the child grows older. Thus a little boy is in the Zoological garden, and seeing a tiger for the first time in his life, is very much attracted by the animal and remarks to his father, "Wouldn't it be nice if we had a tiger home?" The father tells him that such a thing would be altogether impossible in an apartment. The next morning the boy tells his father how he dreamed that they had five little tigers in the bird cage. So you see, since, as it appeared to him, the difficulty lay merely in the immensity of the animal, he solved it in the dream by appreciably reducing its size. When this boy was a year older he wanted a pony. He asked his grandfather to buy him one and the old man said that he would try to do so; but apparently he never meant it seriously, for when Christmas came, the boy had to go without one and his disappointment was keen. His father explained to him that the old man was only joking, for he could not afford the purchase. Then the little boy dreamed that he had a pony, and it was lame and he did not want it. You see how he reconciled himself now. Thus, then, as the child grows older, the dream becomes more and more complex, and consequently with it, the wish expression.

The following dreams illustrate remarkably well the essential point that I am trying to bring home to you, namely that the dream, in the final analysis, is nothing but a concrete visualization of a hidden wish. The first of these was brought to me by a very active and intelligent woman, and runs as follows: "*I was in a train and had a baby wrapped up in a blanket, and a negro nurse. The baby was sleeping*

at the foot of the bed. I was in bed. The nurse was sitting on a bench in front. There came people,—a whole crowd of them—from a certain club, and I said I had to nurse the baby. I looked to see whether he was awake because he had been so very quiet. I saw that the child had a man's face; he smiled at me and said, 'I can wait, I am not hungry!'"

Now the dream appeared strange and comical to the dreamer. When she had related it to me, she laughed and observed, "Isn't that funny, I wonder what you can make out of it?" Knowing the patient well, it was no difficult matter to interpret the dream. She informed me that the previous evening she gave a dinner to a gentleman who was lecturing at this club of which we hear in the dream. It is an association which she founded about twenty years ago for the advancement of child-study, and its demands upon her time and attention were very great. Most of the duties devolved upon her, and she was therefore kept constantly busy. She heaved a sigh of relief when the dinner was over, and bewailed her lot to her husband who remarked: "It's about time they got some one else to do the work. The association is now grown up and I should think there would be a great many others who would take your place." That was what she really wished. We now see how ingeniously the idea is represented: the baby in the dream is this association devoted to child-study which she has founded and which she now desires to be sufficiently grown up to take care of itself and relieve her of her many duties. She wonders whether the child was awake, "he was so quiet:" we see here her wish that the association would not tax so much of her time. And further, when she looks at the child she finds that he is grown up; he says "I can wait, I am not hungry." We see here the concrete visualization of what her husband said, "the association is grown up and could get

along without you." The dream thus realizes her wish: the association is grown up and can get along without her constant attention; the baby can get along without her constant nursing and care: "I can wait, I am not hungry," he assures her.

Miss W., a college student of about twenty, related to me the following dream: "*I saw Apollo embracing Venus de Milo, and then Apollo stabbed her in the breast.*" As we look at the dream, it does not seem to represent a wish, and what is more, it does not contain the dreamer. Before proceeding any further, then, permit me at once to impress upon your mind that whenever you cannot find the dreamer, look for him under the guise of the dream's central or predominant character. That is the only way to get at the heart of the situation. If the dreamer is a man, he is concealed in the hero of the dream, if a woman, in the heroine. Remember also that it makes no difference whether he is represented by human beings or by animals. A man, for example, told me yesterday how he dreamed that two cats were engaged in a boxing match, how, strange to say, they were all the while exchanging bitter words, and how finally the smaller cat succeeded in "knocking out" the bigger opponent. When we resorted to continuous association, the dreamer recalled a scene he witnessed on the day before the dream, in the college gymnasium, in which two men were boxing; one was heavy and tall, the other was light, and quick as a "cat." The latter, because of his agility, "knocked out" his adversary. If I were to describe to you the dream in full, you would readily see that the dreamer identified himself with the successful boxer; he takes, therefore, a situation in which he overcomes an individual whom he would like to "knock out" in reality, and because of the peculiarly intimate relation in his mind between the agility of the boxer and a cat, he transforms it entirely into a fight between two cats.

In this intimate relation existing between the dreamer and the central character in the dream there is a marked analogy to the relation that we find between the author and his work. In the final analysis we may say that a book invariably describes directly or indirectly the author. He is always the central figure in the story, and if like Bernard Shaw he can talk under five or ten characters it merely shows that he is by just that much the more gifted and versatile author. The dominant ideas expressed are his ideas, they may be traced back ultimately to the one source,—his own personality. That is why the hero overcomes generally all vicissitudes, he is never vanquished, for unless, of course, the author is masochistic, he does not wish to die or be conquered. In this connection I cannot help but relate to you a case on which a lawyer consulted me some years ago. The story received quite a bit of notoriety in New York. A young woman entered suit against her elderly, wealthy husband for separation and alimony. She was said to be of a shady reputation and merely desired to get rid of him, so that she could live with another man. The respondent's lawyer was anxious to know whether I could do anything to help him. Among the things he had with him was a typewritten manuscript which was written by the young woman; it was a story that she intended for publication. When I read it, I noted quite a number of significant things from which one was able to draw many conclusions. For one thing, I felt quite convinced that the authoress was carrying on an amour with the head waiter in some New York restaurant, for it was nothing short of such stuff that she fashioned her hero and what was just as significant, the restaurant that she described tallied remarkably with any one of ours on Broadway. When I expressed my mind in the matter to the lawyer, I learned that it was just such a "fellow" that was

suspected as the paramour. Following this clue, detectives soon completely corroborated my conclusion.

Following, then, this rule as to the dreamer's place in the dream, I could at once see the character behind whose skin, so to say, Miss W. lay concealed, I knew that Venus must undoubtedly represent the dreamer. To my query as to what she knew of the ancient goddess she replied tersely: "Oh! I just love her!" She then continued to inform me that she had a picture of Venus both in her room at college and at home. I could now plainly see why she identified herself with her. Upon investigating further, I found that Miss W. would often argue quite warmly with her room mate at college when they both undressed on retiring as to who of the two resembled Venus more, and that the final decision was in the former's favor. We thus see how she actually identified herself with Venus.

By way somewhat of a digression, I may remark that I have always found it instructive to question people as to whom in history they consider their greatest personage, their ideal character. There is, of course, the underlying assumption here that the individual who represents this idea is the one with whom we consciously or unconsciously identify ourselves. In a little paper that I have written on the subject¹ I have pointed out that most of the persons whom I have questioned mentioned Napoleon as their ideal character; and though 60% of them were Christians only two mentioned Jesus. Over 90% of those whom I questioned took individuals like Napoleon as their ideal type; Lincoln took second place to him. But we must bear in mind that the latter was far from being a weakling, that, on the other hand, he was more than in one sense, an unusually strong man. I have drawn some significant conclusions from the data I have thus collected and have des-

¹ The Empathic Index, *Medical Record*, Feb., 1920.

gnated the individual's particular answer as his "Emphatic Index." The latter shows the character one identifies himself with, whom one tries to emulate, you might say, unconsciously. There is no doubt that Napoleon represents the very acme of primitivity; and the secret of the profound fascination that he exerts over us lies undoubtedly in the fact that he is an embodiment of those very things that we unconsciously and even consciously admire. There are many other interesting considerations about the emphatic index that we might dwell on, but for our purpose now I merely wish to point out that when a person states that he most admires this or that character, then it is that character after whom he desires to be modelled, or whom he desires to emulate,—like master like man, as it is said.

It is quite evident, then, that Miss W. wished to look like Venus. Now it is natural that if Venus is going to have an *affaire de cœur*, it cannot be with a common mortal of to-day, it has to be with Apollo. When I asked her to tell me something of Apollo, she said: "Well, I can tell you the story about him from mythology." I asked her to describe how he looked in the dream and she replied: "Just like that lieutenant I told you about." The latter was a young man with whom she had danced the night before. When she had described Apollo I found that she had at least a half dozen men in that one character. In other words, this Apollo of hers was indeed a very modern gentleman; he was a *condensation*, a fusion of a great many individuals whom she knew. This is nothing unusual. Ask a man, for instance, to describe his ideal woman and he will draw on ever so many women to describe her; she must be as tall as Miss so-and-so, have hair as Miss Brown's, etc. One man to whom I put the question actually had no less than the attributes of fifteen women in his conception of his ideal wife. Miss W. met the lieutenant with whom she associated Apollo

at a war camp sociable where the men who were presently to leave for the war were entertained. Flushed and stimulated by the dance, she came home, feeling a sense of "pity" for this aviator who, in his full manhood and strength, was going forth to the war, perhaps never to return; and indeed, did he not express that very sentiment to her himself? He had taken her home on the night of the dance and on parting, asked her to kiss him good-by, but she had refused. Of course, later, on retiring to bed, she was sorry that she had denied him that request. We may thus see that the whole scene had a distinct erotic setting. Analysis reveals that the dream represented the realization of a wish which could just as well have been open. If the young woman had not been brought up in the manner that she was, she could have consciously thought to herself, "Yes, I am very pleased with the lieutenant and how I do wish he were here to court me." But such was her moral training at home that she did not dare think of such a thing: She was trained to regard such a thought as immoral and ugly. And so in repressing this very thought, she has this particular dream. I should add that she awoke markedly excited and with a feeling of palpitation of the heart. We may accordingly designate her dream as one of anxiety, and like all dreams of this type, it denoted gross sex, physical sex. The young woman never consciously, of course, thought of that in the waking state; all that she was aware of was the usual stimulation that any refined and modest girl would experience on a similar occasion.

The question now presents itself: What does the dream represent? To answer this, we must turn our attention for a moment to a brief consideration of a highly interesting psychological mechanism often encountered in unconscious mentation like dream and myths. Whenever we wish to speak in the waking state about any delicate situation that refers to

the lower part of the body, we displace it to the upper part of the body. A woman suffering from some digestive disturbance, will usually declare, when questioned about her condition, that she merely has a cold. Instead of telling the truth, menstruating women will very often veil their condition by some such general remark as that they are ill-disposed, or that they have a cold or throat trouble. In other words, they show a mechanism which is well known in symptoms and dreams, namely, *the displacement from below to above*. If we bear in mind now that the dream simply represented a situation below the waist-line, we can readily see its concealed meaning; it was a gross sex dream, the stabbing denoting coitus, a situation which no woman of her type would ever have allowed herself to think of in the waking state. But as we have said again and again, it does not matter whether one thinks of these things consciously. Nature demands expression of these powerful emotional and instinctive forces at a certain age in life, and whether we are consciously aware of them or not—particularly, if we are not—they manifest themselves in just such ways. We find such an anxiety dream about being stabbed, all because to the average cultured, unmarried woman, coitus and everything directly or indirectly associated with it are painted in horrible colors; women are all made to feel that it entails very much pain, and particularly if it is illicit, that it represents an experience almost equivalent to death. Those were, then, the feelings that fleeted through the woman's unconscious mind and that found concealed expression in the dream. Thus the dream is not at all as mysterious as we at first might have thought; its deeper meaning becomes clear to us, if we only understand the mechanisms which one has to look for in any unconscious mentation.

Consider with me now the following dream related to me by a patient: "*I was discussing some business deal with a*

prospective partner; I listened in silence and then said: 'You can't put that over on me.' I said that because he put his foot on my knee. I got hold of him by the leg, threw him around and right over my head; he fell on his head to the ground and broke his neck. He was dead. I then went out and found my mother because I was very much afraid; I feared that I would be arrested."

Here, of course, there is no difficulty in finding the chief actor; he certainly cannot be the dead man, he must be the dreamer himself. The man who related to me the dream was an officer who had just recently returned from the war; he told me that he was seeking new business connections, as his old association was not of the kind that he desired, that he felt that now he was back, it was the opportune time to make a new and better start. With this view he had discussed the matter with different people. The determinant of the dream was a conference, then, with a prospective partner on a new business venture; we find here the clue to the dream. When I questioned him about the action in the dream—throwing the man down and breaking his head,—he replied that he could only recall the following: "When I was at college on the football team I played end. The particular year that I have in mind the other team was much heavier than ours and they beat us very badly. The score was,—well, I am ashamed to tell it to you even now—48-0." Mark how deeply he felt over the incident, though it was now many years since it had occurred. - Then he continued to inform me that the next year they played the same team, and knowing the terrible defeat they suffered at its hands previously, they practised a great deal and succeeded in beating the rival team. He related how, when the latter began to repeat its old tactics, he was all prepared for them, how he always succeeded in throwing over his opponent, and how he incapacitated one of the adversaries for the rest of

the game. In other words, the second year he won; the first year he was badly beaten. I asked him about his mother in the dream and he went on to say that the game was so extremely rough that his mother who came to see it, was at the very beginning of the game so disturbed and frightened that she had to leave the stand and sat apart crying, fearing that something serious would inevitably result from such a rough and tumble. As a matter of fact, only three of the original players went through with the game: as for himself, he became delirious and was in such a serious condition when finally brought out after the game that his mother had actually to take him in hand and nurse him back to life, as it were.

The question is, "Why should all these things be bound up with the dream?" As you see, there is a similar situation now; he was in business and considered it a failure; he wanted something new. He is about to go into a new line of work; and the same situation of suffering a defeat before and now taking up something new in which he was to be as successful as in the second football game, or, in other words, in which he was to win, presents itself. He succeeds so well that he "knocks" out his partner at once! "Putting something over him," as he expressed it, is actually true, it is actually acted out in the dream: "the partner put his foot on my (the dreamer's) knee;" we have an actual picture of it in the dream. Here you see that the whole past associated with the football game is symbolic of the present situation; in other words, he was a failure the first time, a winner the second time. Now the idea in his mind is: "I would like to form a partnership in which I am successful;" and as it is an anticipation dream, he sees himself already winning, i. e., acting as he did in the football game in which he was not at all concerned if he killed his opponent or not, provided he was successful.

The above dream clearly reveals the three strata of every dream,—first the present (trying to get into a new business); second, the past (the present situation becomes associated with a similar situation in the past). We must remember that there are so many experiences that occur in one's life that there is no situation of to-day that will not revive some similar situation in the past; third, the remote past or infantile. There is no dream, however simple, that does not show these three strata. Your dream to-day touches directly or indirectly, something of yesterday; it is absurd to think that we dream merely of some trifle that is only of importance to the immediate present. In the above dream we see how the particular present situation was expressed symbolically by some situation of the past; and when we go further with the analysis, we find that the same tracks, as it were, existed in the person's childhood. At this earlier period he had an older brother who constantly dominated him, "put it over him," and he was thus prepared, we might say, to meet similar situations later in life. That is why it is so important that you understand these mechanisms; for when, as parents, you find that a child is handicapped in this way, it will be your duty to take a special attitude toward the problem; you must not allow the older child to dominate the younger one. As teachers, you must always see to it that the child who is considerably younger than the average should not be placed in a class of older children, even if it is up to the mark intellectually. Children should mix with only those of their own mental and physical equipment, and that is usually only possible with those of the same age. The so-called smart child that is put together with considerably older children is seriously harmed thereby; when he grows up he is forever harassed by a feeling of inferiority. I have seen many people who have gone through school at the age of, let us say, fourteen or fifteen, when they should have gone .

to sixteen and seventeen; they were intellectually precocious, but emotionally they were always handicapped. They were called "Shorty" or "Kid" at school and it was in such emotional states that they remained throughout life, because they saw the school situation everywhere, whether it really existed or not; they followed the path of the acquired tendency. As I have reiterated so frequently here, certain tracks are laid out from the very beginning and the individual always follows them. In brief, one might say that our present acts if not exact reproductions of, are certainly analogous to, the past, they are, so to speak, symbolic of the past.

In the beginning of our course we pointed out that such imperfect analogies, such symbolic expressions as we find in dreams and symptoms are found also in symptoms. It matters not how bizarre, how seemingly senseless the patient's symptom may be, it has a definite meaning in his life, it bears an intimate relation to his inner problems and conflicts; and it is only by understanding it that we can comprehend and evaluate his attitude toward the world.

Years ago Miss R., a young woman around the early twenties, was brought to me by her mother. The history of the case was that for months she had been very depressed; she ate very little and spent most of her time in crying; she suffered from insomnia and thought of suicide. She was seen by many physicians some of whom designated her condition as nervousness, others as insanity. I spoke to the parent before I saw the patient. She talked about the daughter's condition in the characteristic fashion of the grieved and devoted mother, and remarked sadly: "It's too bad, Doctor, such a fine girl! She always stayed at home, never went out with the boys and was so well-behaved; and now she has been sick so long." When I turned to the girl

and asked her why she was so depressed, she began to cry, and upon urging her to speak, she declared that she was unworthy, that she had committed all kinds of transgressions. Upon being pressed for further explanation, she replied that she had drowned some pups; whereupon the mother immediately interposed, "But, Doctor, that happened when she was a little bit of a girl, about twenty years ago, and I am sure she did not do it." However that may be, there was no need for the mother to attempt to exonerate her daughter, for the moment I learned that this incident went ever so many years back, I had all good reason to pause and wonder why a person should cry to-day over what had occurred twenty years ago, and what, up to a few months ago, she never gave the slightest thought to. Moreover, such episodes are rarely impressive to the extent of being taken up so many years later in life.

A patient like Miss R. may be variously diagnosed; she may be said to be merely nervous; some designated her condition as manic depressive insanity, by which we mean that she suffered from a form of emotional disturbance which comes in certain cycles, periodically, as we said previously; sometimes the patient is maniacal, sometimes depressed. In this particular case there was no history of any previous attacks, nor was there anything in her family to justify that there was a tendency to such attacks, as one usually finds in the real cases of manic depressive insanity. After observing her for a week I diagnosed her condition as a case of anxiety hysteria.

When we attempt to help the patient, we must depend in large measure upon his coöperation and treat the symptom just as we treat a dream. Now the dream that we remember we call the "manifest" dream; in analyzing it we are aiming to get at its "latent" content. The manifest dream may require perhaps just two lines to describe, but when we begin

to take the associations to it, or in other words, to discover its "latent" content, we may have to write ten pages or even more. The same thing holds true of symptoms. You see a patient in the insane asylum hallucinating; she hears voices. Ask her who it is that is talking to her and she will inform you that it is "Mr. Brown." Upon investigation you will find that the latter had paid her attention and that she was in love with him; now she is hallucinating, thinking that he is speaking to her. You find the "latent" content in order to determine the nature and mechanism of the patient's symptom.

I saw Miss R. for a week or two; she would always come with her mother and after each interview, the parent would come into my consulting room in the characteristic, apprehensive manner of a mother and would remark, in passing: "Isn't it terrible, Doctor, that such a misfortune should befall such a nice girl! She never went out with boys, she was always so well-behaved!" I began to feel that the mother was laying undue emphasis on her daughter's being such a "nice" girl. I had no doubt whatsoever that she actually believed what she said and as for myself, I had no reason to question its veracity, but I was just struck by the emphasis. We say in our work that there is a definite relation between the "noopsyche" and the "thymopsycne," between the mind and the emotions; they are directly proportional. In other words, if in speaking to you here I try to impress you with certain facts, I do not act like a person who would inform you that there is a fire in the building; the emotional element would be disproportionate to the idea involved. With this key of undue emphasis, then, I began to suspect that there must be something behind the mother's assurance. One could see that the mother in repeating those words to me was really assuring herself; that she undoubtedly reacted to an unconscious doubt about her

daughter's proper behavior. So I began to work on this theory, following the well known detective formula, "*cherchez l'homme.*" I began accordingly to inquire into the patient's love life, but she was reluctant to speak about it. She simply assured me that she was leading the usual average life. To my question whether she had a love affair she showed an unusual emotional reaction; she burst into tears and as I was unable to calm her the séance had to be ended. The next time she came I began the analysis again and again she began to cry; but emotions are exhaustible, so presently her tears were spent and she began to talk.

In analyzing her symptoms, I asked myself: "What are the elements that enter into it?" or in other words, "why does this woman cry to-day over an episode of twenty years ago?" Every emotion that a person experiences must have some reason for its existence, and if you cannot find that reason in the present, you may be quite sure that the emotion is displaced to some situation to which it does not strictly belong, but with which it has become connected by some direct or indirect association. Now whenever an emotion has to be displaced, it simply means that it cannot remain with the original episode, but must be transferred to some other situation. There was no reason for the woman's crying over a trifling and insignificant episode that occurred far back in her childhood. One might dislike to witness pups being drowned, but there is no reason why one should continue to wail over it for months, after it was seemingly forgotten for about twenty years. I was urged, then, to the conclusion that the episode relating to the pups was only a concealing memory, it was a memory which she brought to the surface and retained in consciousness simply because a similar episode occurred in the present which had to be concealed. When we analyze the episode we find that it involves essentially the destruction of young life, pups, by

water. That is its intrinsic significance. Now just as in the last dream that we have considered, the present situation showed a direct analogy to some situation in the past, a business proposition became identified by analogy with a football game, so we have to discover in the symptom some fundamental element that it may have in common with the early childhood reminiscence. The main element in the symptom that one should seek as an analogy would be some form of destruction of life, associated somehow with water, which must have occurred later in this young woman's life, because we are always deeply affected and stirred by some present, not by some past circumstance. I told her accordingly that I suspected that she had some sexual trouble, that it had something to do with an abortion or some similar experience; whereupon she disclosed to me the whole state of affairs. She informed me that she kept company with a young man who would regularly call at her home, that when, to her great dismay, she found herself pregnant and informed him about it, he upbraided and repulsed her, accusing her of having had sexual relations with some other man. She pleaded with him and he finally took her to a midwife who performed an abortion. But that did not end here. Following this, she was compelled to treat herself with douches, and as she did not know how to take them they caused her considerable trouble and worriment. Add to this the fact that the entire affair had to be concealed from her mother and you can readily imagine in what a pitiable plight the poor girl found herself. When things were settled presently, from a medical viewpoint at any rate, she began to feel the mortification of the past and it was about six or eight weeks following the painful experience that she had the nervous breakdown. In other words, she could no longer conceal the terrible misfortune that she had to go through; it demanded some outlet, some form of expression. But as

she could not openly dwell on it, she took unconsciously some similar situation in the past and endowed it with all the intensity of her actual state of feeling. Shall I repeat again that whatever we experience, no matter whether it be at the age of two, three or four, is always retained in the mind and recalled on the appropriate occasion? The present episode keeps on revolving in the mind until it falls into the special track that was laid out for it, as it were, from the very beginning, because of some intrinsic element of similarity it bears to the early experience. And when we remember how many and how diverse are the impressions we receive every day, we will not find it hard to see that nothing that happens to-day cannot find an analogy in something that has occurred in the past. Imagine the impression about the drowning pups deep down in the unconscious; here is that powerful, conscious emotion which has to be repressed because she cannot consciously dwell on it, and naturally by analogy, it falls into the track of that early childhood impression. The same elements are there: the attributes of both experiences are analogous, that is, attribute for attribute.

I may perhaps make this a little clearer by an illustration from my own experience. Last week I was walking one very frosty evening through the street with my dog when his attention was attracted by sounds coming from a paper bundle lying in the middle of the road. I heard a low, moaning sound coming from it and I was naturally interested to know what it could be. On coming up to it I found two little pups that some hard-hearted person must have exposed with the hope, apparently, that they would freeze to death or be run over and killed. And here is the significant thing: that very night I had a dream, the latent content of which elicited a little episode that I heard related when I was a boy of surely no more than eight years old. It was about some peasant who was hung, because he exposed two of his own

babies on a cold, wintry night, thus causing their death, simply to please his second wife who hated them and would not let them in the house. It was the first time I had heard of an execution and it evidently made a profound impression upon me. But as far as I know, I had never thought of the episode since then. But you see the moment I saw these little pups exposed to the freezing weather that early childhood experience was unconsciously revived together with all its attending emotions. That is the way the mind works; a present situation may evoke from the past some early impression by reason of the former's intrinsic element of contrast or analogy to the early experience. We may see, then, that in the case of Miss R. the concealing memory simply represented what happened later. It is interesting to mark that the latent content required about three or four weeks to reveal, whereas the manifest content was always on the surface. The moment the young woman began to grope about unconsciously for a reason why she could cry about her condition in public, that episode from the remote past was revived because of its intrinsic resemblance to the present situation. It was immediately invested with all the emotions, and what was more, she herself did not have the least thought that it was really over the later episode that she was crying. She did not deliberately take up that early childhood memory and wail over it; it was all unconscious on her part. What she really, then, cried over was the immediate past, the terrible anguish and keen disappointment that she recently had to bear. She had accordingly typical symptoms of anxiety hysteria and to physicians who are not trained in psychiatric work, her condition seemed to resemble the manic depressive type of insanity.

Thus, then, we see that the dream and the symptom show the same mechanisms, both show a definite relation to the

inner life of the person, both are incursions into consciousness from the unconscious, and that, in fine, it is necessary to get at what we call their "latent" contents to grasp their essential significance and meaning.

CHAPTER VIII

TYPES OF DREAMS

We have discussed thus far dreams that either represent open wishes, like convenient dreams, or are hidden realizations of a repressed wish. The latter type is of course the more usual and I have given you a number of examples of it. There is another form of dreams which realizes fears, as it were, and which we call anxiety dreams; we say that the anxiety there replaces the libido or the desire. The individual is overwhelmed with a sense of terror, he wakes up terrified and trembling. It is the sort of dream which is commonly known as a nightmare, and to one unacquainted with the deeper mechanisms of dream formation it does not seem to represent a wish. In order to understand it, it is necessary to understand what we mean by anxiety.

Anxiety or fear is found in two forms. In the normal form, it is a protective mechanism which is found in every individual. The child is endowed with a certain amount of fear from its very birth. It is needless to say that an animal's life would be seriously jeopardized if it knew no fear. But there is another type of fear or anxiety manifesting itself in neurotic disturbances, that we recognize as being distinctly abnormal. Take, for instance, the case of a man who is afraid to go out into the street for fear lest he be run over; he realizes too well how absurd and ill-grounded is his apprehension, but nilly willy, he is afraid to leave the house. Another person may be afraid to go near a

window, lest he jump out. Of course, it is perfectly natural for the average person to experience some sense of uneasiness perhaps when standing by a high open window, but he is not going to be apprehensive to the point where he actually fears to go near it; yet in some nervous disturbance, a person will under no circumstances go near a window, because he is afraid of falling out. Likewise, some people may refuse to cross bridges: "Suppose the bridge breaks," they will argue. They may be well-trained engineers and realize that that is impossible or most improbable, but they are fearful despite all assurance. The fear, in other words, is distinctly pathological.

When we analyze cases of phobias and anxiety states we find that it is not the immediate particular situation, that, to be more explicit, it is not the perception of the probable immediate danger that is the cause of the fear, but some altogether different and basic condition; in other words, that the anxiety is merely displaced from a condition to which it properly belongs to an altogether different idea. We have already noted this displacement of anxiety when we spoke about the psychology of the fear of burglars. It was observed also that this fear is usually found among women who are suffering from a lack of sexual outlet. We saw that what lies back of it is nothing but the unconscious craving for gross or physical sex; but as the woman cannot speak about it openly, the repressed craving unconsciously attaches itself to some analogous situation that can be openly dwelt on,—an illicit intrusion into one's private room for which she cannot be held responsible. It is only a disguised expression of the real craving. The biological demands of life crave for an outlet, but the individual has been so well trained by society, or in other words, the repression has been carried to such a point that she would not dare even admit the real

situation to herself. The craving manifests itself, therefore, in this disguised form.

As I have reiterated so frequently in the past, it matters very little how exacting and scrupulous may be our moral teachings and requirements, there are the actual biological laws or demands of the human being that are of paramount consideration. Biology teaches us that as the individual grows older, it becomes more and more patent what his mission in this world is to be,—namely, to mate and propagate his kind. This sexual function, as it is generally termed, appears from the very beginning of our existence, and assumes more and more significance and importance with the advance and development of the individual. We use the word "sex," of course, in its very broadest sense, as being synonymous with love, but it may interest you to know, that if you trace the origin of the word "love," you will find that it is derived from a word in Sanskrit which denotes "lust"; it is significant that the word for "love" in Hebrew means also "lust." The ancients, apparently, have made no mistake about the meaning of love; to them there was certainly a complete identification of love and what we generally consider, with no little degree of disparagement, as being grossly physical or sensual, or sex. It is only with the advance of Christian civilization that this marked contrast has grown up, that one speaks about sex as something base and ugly, and love as that divine fire of which the poet speaks so eloquently. But as a matter of fact, love and sex are one and the same thing; we cannot have one without the other. It is useless to delude ourselves into the belief that one side of the fact is sublime, while the other that has to do with the service of propagation is low and degrading. Of course, there is just this much to be said,—the modern individual cannot use any of his functions in the manner of our primitive ancestors, and our behavior in mating is as different from that of the

savage as the function of nourishment in modern man is different from that in his primitive brother. We have learned that certain things are incompatible with our environment. But it would be just as ridiculous to suppose that we can dispense with the natural sex function on that account as it would be to suppose that we can dispense with food, because we do not eat like the savage. The fundamental necessity remains, and no law can be evolved that will eliminate it.

To be sure, we had no quarrels with the sex function as long as we considered it beautiful and sacred. We know how much revered it was in early religions. Likewise the child sees nothing ugly or immoral in sex; we know how it shows no scruples in exposing itself naked. But it learns, in time, to control and repress, to conceal what would be obnoxious to its environment. And thus the sex impulses have had to be concealed more and more as time went on. What is more, it was found necessary with the advance of civilization to defer the mating instinct. Animals begin to manifest the sex impulse at an early age, as soon as they begin to walk. The same is found among primitive races. Thus among the natives of New Guinea many travelers have reported sexual practices among children of six and seven years. The situation is different in modern times: civilization, has found that it is impossible to indulge in sex at the time it openly manifests itself, and sexual gratification, therefore, must be markedly deferred. Thus with the advance of centuries of civilization, particularly with the rise and spread of Christianity, the sex instincts have been more and more repressed, so that now the whole impulse is so distorted that it appears to the individual incomprehensible and baffling to the last degree, and it is actually necessary to enlighten modern men and women in matters sexual. I say this advisedly. But the fact remains that the urge is

there, and whether the individual desires or no, it always manifests itself.

Hence, sex in our sense is only a part of the mating impulse which we may include in the general term love. Any manifestation of the love impulse, be it in the child or the adult, may be considered as a phase of sex. We may therefore explain on this same basis any phobia or pathological fear even in children, except, of course, that we must bear in mind that here the phobia deals with infantile love. Only four or five weeks ago a little girl of ten was brought to me because she was afraid that burglars might enter her room; she absolutely would not sleep alone. Formerly she was accustomed to sleep in a room all by herself; but now she was so afraid that the only way to quiet her was to take her into the parents' bed; otherwise she would not fall asleep. The cure consisted in just analyzing with the child frankly and simply the basic sexual significance of the situation. I confess, I was a little surprised when the little girl informed me that what puzzled her so much was that her mother told her about child birth, but failed to explain to her how child birth started. "How does it happen that the child grows in the mother's womb like a flower?" the little girl asked me. The mother had apparently related only part of the story. I explained to the little girl the significant aspects of the problem, and it was really quite impressive to see how grateful she felt for the information. "I learned so much to-day from Dr. Brill," she remarked. "Why do you call him a doctor; he is more like a teacher." The child was cured after she realized that her fear was nothing but her desire to have her mother and father with her. She had been very much coddled by the parents; her father particularly had been too lavish in his affections, he used to fondle and kiss her altogether too much and now her emotions could no longer be contained and welled forth overwhelmingly strong. By

helping this child to understand this, and adjusting her love-life generally, the phobia disappeared.

To understand better how the direct sex demands manifest themselves in the anxiety dream, it may be well perhaps to consider with you in some details the three phases of sex life as propounded by Prof. Freud: first, the autoerotic, second the narcissistic, and third the object love. The term autoerotic you can readily translate into self-sufficient, self-gratified, or self-adequate. The child shows a sexual life from the very beginning, but it is very different, of course, from that of the adult. That is only natural; it can no more experience the sex emotions like the adult than it can run or talk like him. In the second stage, which begins at about two and a half, or three and a half years, the child is predominately interested in his own body. Then we have the latency period, from about four to eight, followed by the prepubescent age from about eight through eleven. Now comes puberty. We must bear in mind that it is during the latency period that the child receives most of those impressions which prepare it for life. To be sure, it begins to take on impressions from the very beginning of its existence; but it is in this period, which we may justly call the school period, that it actually begins to learn how to adjust itself to society. The definite phase of adjustment which we associate generally with education really starts at the latency period when the child begins to go to school. It has, of course, already a certain adjustment as a result of its home training, and the observant teacher will attest to the fact that the child shows even at this early age a very characteristic mode of reacting to its environment. In other words, before entering school the child already has a definite adjustment which is a product of its home development. The teacher, therefore, is not to be blamed for a child's maladjustment, because she is coping with a condition that from

the very outset was not strictly normal. If a child has not done well up to the age of eight, it will always be a ne'er-do-well; if it is defective, its abnormality will become manifest at the outset, and it will not outgrow it, as people generally suppose. A child shows from the very beginning just what the nature of its future adjustment will be.

It is commonly supposed that the latency period shows no sex manifestations. Careful observation, however, points very definitely in the opposite direction. It is a period in which sex is only apparently absent; investigate a little and you will learn from teachers and parents that all kinds of sexual manifestations are in evidence at that age in the class room and at home. They are, of course, not so prominent; the child does not usually occupy himself with distinct sexual problems. That sexual inquisitiveness of the earlier years seems to have lost its keen edge; we hear no more that insistent query, "Where do children come from?" It either has received its information by the age of four or has been squelched so well that it dare not ask the parents another question.

The period of object love sets in at the age of nine or ten, around the prepubescent age; the boy and the girl now show that they are ready to adjust themselves to the world in a definite way. The child no longer shows the same reactions to both sexes. At the age of puberty one observes marked character changes in both sexes; it is then that the sexual factors become manifest and specialized. The boy develops into manhood and shows an aggressive sexual make-up, and the girl, developing into womanhood evinces a passive or negatively aggressive sexuality. I have collected dreams of children of about the pubescent age, and it is instructive to note how the dreams all showed the definite biological factors that may be observed in the development of both sexes; the boys' dreams always dealt with active aggressions, and the

girls' with passivity, with being pursued, caught or overcome. A number of teachers collected for me dreams of pubescent children, and no matter from what station of life the children came the results were always the same; their dreams all showed the same characteristic biological reactions. It is noteworthy that anxiety dreams are particularly prevalent among girls of fourteen and fifteen; for it is at this age that the girl becomes aware of the sex urge, but cannot as yet place her emotions properly, she has not as yet adjusted herself to the new life.

The pubescent age is also the period when most mental breakdowns start. One of the worst forms of mental diseases, dementia *præcox*, starts at about the ages of fourteen and fifteen; probably 75% of the attacks occur between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, 90% between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, the others coming later. Indeed, dementia *præcox* has been designated by many writers as an insanity of pubescence. As a specialist in nervous diseases, I may say that if a child successfully tides over its pubescent age, that is, the period from about twelve to fifteen years, then there is no cause for apprehension. If everything goes well at this time, it is indeed rare to find some nervous or emotional breakdown in later years. In other words, an adequate adjustment now means an adequate adjustment in the future. In this adjustment, of course, the sexual or emotional factor is of paramount importance and that is why it may be said that an individual who is not well adjusted in his emotional or erotic life, remains inadequately adjusted in every other phase of his existence. We may posit it as a general principle that one's sex life is always reflected in the general psychic condition of the entire person; abnormal sex life always interferes with normal functioning in the other spheres of life.

- The biologic principles, or the direct sex demands mani-

fest themselves all the time. In the dream they appear in the form of anxiety or fear. Let me give you some illustrations. A woman related to me this dream: *A colored man pursued her with a knife, and it was only after a long struggle that she wrested the deadly weapon from him. She awoke, terrified, her heart beating wildly.* When I called for associations, I learned that her mother was always afraid to leave her alone at home because of the colored butler, who is a quiet, inoffensive creature. When asked what reason she thought her mother had for fearing to leave her alone with the servant, she replied, "Well, you know I read recently about colored men in the south assaulting white women. Mother reads the same paper that I do and must have probably read that account also, and so she must be more afraid than ever." The dream is simply a realization of a wish; unconsciously the young woman's own craving for sex manifested itself in this concealed way. The account that she had read in the newspaper the day before only served as a determinant for the dream; the emotions, the unconscious craving were there all the time waiting for an appropriate stimulus to call them into play.

There is thus not an event occurring in this world but what calls forth some repressed emotion in the unconscious, and acts as a determinant not only for dreams, but for hysterical symptoms and other normal and abnormal phenomena. Perhaps you may remember the time when there was so much ado and excitement about "the poison needle," when women were reported to have been taken into white slavery by the thousands. Some vicious man, it was rumored, would stick a poison needle into a girl, drag her into a taxi when she fainted and hurry her off to a house of ill repute. It mattered little that scientists protested that there could be no such poison that would render a person unconscious immediately. The police were kept quite active and

arrests were made, but as a matter of fact there was not a single authentic case of "the poison needle" throughout the United States. It was quite instructive to me to observe that there was hardly a woman I was treating at that time who did not tell me that she dreamed or fancied about being poisoned, attacked and sold into white slavery.

The unconscious always draws upon the environment for expression; it always utilizes some appropriate situation for the expression of repressed emotions. I know I may shock some of you by asserting that the late war offered an excellent outlet to some people; that is why so many men and women experienced nervous breakdowns after the armistice was signed. I had occasion to see a few soldiers then who had gone through the fighting without receiving the slightest wound, but who broke down when they came on board the ship bound for home. They were supposed to have been "shell shocked;" but the real difficulty was that they were cut off from an excellent outlet for their primitive impulses. The same thing applied to those who did not actively participate in the fighting; there were quite a number of women who became markedly depressed, as the soldiers returned from overseas and were discharged. There was to be no more prospect of working in canteens, driving ambulances, nursing the sick heroes in the hospitals. We were to have no more of these sadistic or masochistic outlets. And what a terrible void opened up before those women!

In the same way the *Titanic* disaster acted as a marked determinant for dreams. One woman related to me the following dream relating to the catastrophe: She was on the ship when it was sinking; there were the terrible cries of panic-stricken women and children. Then some one cried out:- "Women and children first." She refused to leave her husband. An officer came up and tore her away from him, despite her loud protests. She woke up crying, seized

with terror. I knew this woman's history so thoroughly that it was not difficult for me to see at once the meaning of the dream. When I asked her for associations there was the natural determinant; she had read on the previous day how the wife of a prominent man on board the *Titanic* actually refused to be separated from her husband and bravely met death with him without flinching. In the dream, as you may see, the situation was quite the reverse: she was terribly grieved because she was torn away from her husband. Now the crux of the whole situation was that she was in love with an officer who was stationed right near here; she experienced a great many struggles with herself about the whole affair; that was one of the reasons why she came to me for treatment. Consciously, of course, she would not yield to the officer, but unconsciously in the dream, she submits and we see her actually separated from her husband. On the one hand, then, we see the wish motive, on the other, the anxiety which is merely the conflict between the two opposing psychic forces, representing the converted libido. Thus the dream strictly had little to do with the *Titanic* catastrophe; the latter only served as the medium through which she was able to give vent to her repressed emotions.

The anxiety dreams, then, show a definite form of unconscious reaction to craving, to unadjusted emotions, in which the anxiety takes the place of the libido. Later on, when we take up day dreaming, we shall see that some women go through these mechanisms without sleeping. They play with the idea consciously; they entertain "Dürnen phantasien," prostitution fancies, quite openly. Such women either do not suppress or have sexually emancipated themselves. The others can give vent to their unadjusted emotions through unconscious mentation, and it is the anxiety dream that lends itself to just that type of outlet.

When we delve into the mainsprings of the dream, we find that it is a product of some conscious experience or fancy that the individual invariably represses by reason of its painful and unattainable nature. That is why we find, upon investigation, that day dreams and fancies which are more or less conscious mental activities, show exactly the same mechanisms as the dream, and reveal just as markedly a person's character and inner problem. Analysis shows that they are invariably wishes. Thus that spontaneous mental activity known as "building castles in the air" enables us to gain as profound an insight into the individual's deeper striving and desires as the dream itself.

**Artificial
Dreams
and
Lying**

This intimate relation existing between the dream and the day dream is found also between the dream and another type of unconscious mentation which may be designated as "artificial dreams." By artificial dreams we understand those dreams which a person consciously makes up at the request of the physician. The patient is requested to make up a dream by imitating what he regards as a real dream. He is instructed to talk at random without guiding his thoughts. The production obtained in this manner is recorded and analyzed in accordance with the rules. What the patient will produce for you may sound very stupid to him and may seem to him to bear no relation to his own inner problems, but as a matter of fact you will find, upon analyzing it, that it is just as significant as an actual dream and reveals just as markedly the deeper problems and conflicts in the psychic life. I came upon the subject of artificial dreams in the following manner :

I was treating a physician, an unmarried man, about thirty years old, who was suffering from a rather deep-seated psychoneurotic disturbance. He was one of those patients who claim that they do not dream; after assuring him, how-

ever, it is merely a question of remembering the dream, he came to me one morning and gave me the following dream: "*I was giving birth to a child, and felt very severe labor pains. My friend X. acted as accoucheur (midwife); he stuck the forceps into me more like a butcher than a physician.* Of course," he said, "X. is not a physician, he is a business man." I proceeded to analyze the dream by asking the patient to tell me something about X. "He is a very good friend of mine, but of late we have drifted apart," he replied. I was interested to know the reason for this. "I did not like some of the people in whom X. was interested," I learned. "Is that the only reason why you drifted apart?" I continued. "I believe so." The patient then went into details about his relationship with X. I observed finally: "You seem to be jealous of X." "Yes, that is what X. claims." "Well," I went on, "but jealousy is perfectly justified only when a person of the opposite sex is concerned, but you are jealous when X. talks to other men." He then laughed: "You know, I always thought that this dream business is claptrap. Now I can see it; you asked me to give you a dream and I thought I would make one up. I never dreamed it. I was only fooling you." I must confess I was a little surprised to hear this, but his apparently innocent piece of fabrication revealed to me all the same the very thing I was looking for all the time. A dream such as this could only come from a homosexual, and indeed, from the very beginning I suspected that he was an invert. I asked him to go on with the analysis of the dream but he dryly protested, "There's no use; I made it up." I insisted that he continue. He refused and became very angry, whereupon I simply told him my analysis. "You are a homosexual, and in love with Mr. X.; only a man who identifies himself with a woman dreams that he gives birth to a child." He left me in quite a sullen mood, but returned very soon and

informed me that my diagnosis was correct, but that it was hard for him to acknowledge that he was homosexual.

The case gave me much food for reflection. It demonstrated to me very definitely that one can actually resort to the analysis of artificial dreams to gain an insight into the patient's psychic life. What surprised me at first was that we never seemed to have thought about the matter before, but upon investigating the subject, I soon found that Prof. Bleuler had touched on it, stating that such artificial productions are not at all impossible. Since that case, I resort to artificial dreams whenever a patient fails to bring me dreams, claiming that he does not dream, or whenever a patient suddenly stops dreaming because of some unconscious resistance. Analysis of such a dream usually brings to the surface those factors which were at the base of these resistances, which can then be removed. Of course, this is not as easy as it may appear, for it is a significant fact that most people who insist that they do not dream will declare just as strongly that they cannot make up a dream. The same resistances that hinder them from bringing the physician their dreams prevent them also from making up dreams. There is no doubt, however, that with continued urging on the part of the physician, they can be led to give some productions. Here are a few that I have reported.

"I do something that meets with my parents' disapproval. I am afraid of my father, as if I were a child." When I asked the dreamer for associations, he replied that he had none, but that he would invent another dream. The latter ran as follows: *"I see an old woman crying. She is evidently trying to decipher shorthand notes."* He began to associate and thought at once of a certain woman, a stenographer, his senior by five years. He had met her in a very questionable environment, while carousing with friends, fell in love with her and offered to marry her. She soon prom-

ised to reform, took up stenography, and through his influence obtained a position in his father's office. When he finally spoke about her to the father, who knew nothing of the woman's past, the latter at first refused his consent, but later showed signs of relenting. It was then that the patient himself began to doubt the wisdom of his contemplated matrimonial venture. Most of his friends knew about her former life, and strongly advised him against marrying her. He knew that he would have to renounce all his social connections and feared lest his father should discover the true facts concerning her past. It was this conflict, coupled with other factors, that revived a dormant psychoneurosis. I may also add that while under treatment he consciously withheld the most important facts in his love affair; he told me nothing about how he met her, or who she was. He did not think it was necessary for me to know this. Indeed, such things are usually passed over by the patient as being trivial and unimportant; he simply does not deem them worth while to relate.

The first production: "I do something that meets with my parents' disapproval. I am afraid of my father as if I were a child," recalled the patient's early childhood when he often feared his father's wrath for wetting the bed. The underlying thought was that should he now enter into this contemplated matrimony, he would again soil his bed and be punished by his father. The second dream, "I saw an old woman crying, etc.," expresses his wish to get rid of the woman. She was indeed a poor stenographer and would have been discharged long before had it not been for his intercession. The dream shows that she leaves voluntarily because she cannot hold a position in his family, i.e., she cannot be his wife.

Another patient, Mrs. C., a young married woman suffering from a mild form of dementia praecox, gave me, after

strong urging, the following artificial dream. Patients of the dementia praecox type are usually very inaccessible and the artificial dream is often the only way of entering into their mind. "*I went into a garden where there were many people. One of the ladies fell in love with one of the gentlemen sitting on the bench. They exchanged all sorts of endearing terms until the lady proposed marriage. They married and were very happy.*" This dream is quite simple: it shows little distortion, it is a sort of open wish. As Mrs. C. is a married woman the question that naturally suggests itself is: "Who is the man?" Certainly he is not her own husband; there would be no need for that. The dreamer herself apparently is under the disguise of the lady who proposed to the gentleman, in accordance with the well-known principle of dream analysis, that the dreamer is always the central figure in the dream. Mrs. C. was a shut-in type of person, extremely inaccessible. Whenever I made any efforts to question her about her intimate life, she would say: "I am perfectly happy with my husband. I have nothing to tell you." But when I asked her to tell me the person, the "gentleman," in the dream recalled to her, she immediately informed me that it was the family physician; she remembered distinctly that the physician looked very much like him. As she could give me very little further information, I observed: "It would seem that you had an amour with the physician, or that you undoubtedly desired to have one." She admitted that for years she had been very attached to the doctor. She did not tell me of this before, because she could not see what bearing it had upon the treatment. And yet, I must have you mark very carefully, it is the conflict arising from this experience that finally precipitated her mental condition; it was the exciting factor of the disease.

Since my experience with that first patient who deliber-

ately attempted to mislead me by making up what he thought a senseless production, I have collected quite a number of artificial dreams. Though most of them are by no means as simple as those I have just given you, they all may very readily be analyzed; indeed, they are easier to analyze than actual dreams.

Let me say at this point that one of the objections to dream analysis advanced by some investigators is that the dreamer in recounting the dream consciously or unconsciously fills up the gaps which originally existed in the dream and thus introduces elements that strictly do not belong to it; they maintain that the dream that you commit to writing is no longer the real dream, a great deal of it is forgotten, and much new material creeps in. But you see how this makes no material difference in the analysis, for whatever the dreamer inserts into the dream bears an intimate relation to his own inner problems: the dreamer consciously or unconsciously will always gravitate toward his own inner strivings.

My experience with artificial dreams led me into quite another field of investigation, the problem of lying. Considerable study and experience convinced me that the lie, like the dream, is nothing but a direct or indirect wish. Every piece of fabrication, whether simple or complex, represents essentially a condition that the person desires to see realized. Frankly, I am sometimes pleased when a patient lies to me, either quite deliberately or unconsciously; he is thereby only giving me another clue to his neurosis. For every lie, even in a normal person, is but an expression of the wish-motive, and deals naturally with material of marked importance and interest in the individual concerned.

Lying is one of the defense mechanisms that helps the individual out of difficulties. When done with that in view, the lie is often designated as a "white lie." Thus we have

a double standard of lying, the "white lie" which is pardonable, and the lie made with malicious intent, or done habitually, just for the sake of lying. That the "white lie" is just another mode of self-protection, that it has, we might say, as useful a function as teeth and claws, is well borne out by the fact that primitive people and lower races, like the negroes and Indians, for example, invariably lie when they wish to get out of some difficulty. The same condition obtains among children. They invariably show a tendency to fabricate. Such a tendency among children cannot be considered pathological. It simply denotes a premature mentality; children, as we know, have not as yet assumed all the necessary ethical inhibitions and therefore follow their impulses. Whenever they find themselves in any difficulty they do not hesitate to get out of it through lying. Thus a boy of four, having broken a dish, insisted that a servant did it; an older boy, having been detected playing truant, asserted that his teacher was sick.

We should always assume a more or less sensible attitude to lying in children. They should be taught, of course, not to do so, but it is to be expected and regarded as more or less natural. They should be trained to tell the truth without resorting to emotional outbursts, for it is certain that we can always accomplish much more with the child by entering into rapport with him, by gaining his confidence and love. How much harm is often done by resorting to marked emotionalism in our attitude toward the child's lie may be seen from the following case:

Mrs. F., a woman of thirty-five, married, complained among other things, of having a very strong tendency to lie. As far as I could observe, she was perfectly normal mentally, so that one could regard her condition as merely a bad habit. But we know, from psychoanalytic study and experience, that there must be something in the individual's psychic life

that feeds that habit, that gives it its motive force. Apropos of the symptom, her history was as follows: At the age of eight she lived in a small locality where, among the very few children who played with her there was a boy of eleven with whom she associated very much. One day he exposed himself to her, and she played sexually with him. This continued for a few months perhaps, when her grandmother noticed it. The boy got a terrible beating and the girl received a good tongue lashing, although she was more or less excused as she was only a little girl. She was not allowed, however, to see her companion any more. Her mother, who was away at this time, presently returned and the little girl, in an outburst of confidence related everything that occurred during her absence, not failing to mention also the experience with the little boy. Far from being pleased that her daughter voluntarily and frankly revealed to her what transpired between the two children, she flew into a rage and beat the little girl most severely, despite the fact that she had never before administered any form of corporal punishment to the child. She then locked her up in a room and kept her there on bread and water for quite a while. Following this, she continued to remind the girl all the time of the terrible transgression that was committed. When twelve years old, the girl attended with her mother a funeral of a boy of fourteen who met with an accident and was killed. ;On her way to the funeral, the mother observed: "When you get there, you will see his parents in a state of terrible anguish; they feel heart broken at the death of their young boy, snatched from them at so young an age. But do you know, I would have rather seen you die than to have done what you did?" That is how stupidly and deeply the mother reacted to the situation. The grandmother would accordingly remind the girl: "Now you see, if you only had kept your tongue, as I told you to do." That marked a turning

point in the patient's whole life. There was a marked change in her relations to her mother and to the world. She now lied frequently to her parent: she actually "kept her tongue" as her grandmother had wisely counselled her. And as she reacted to the mother she gradually reacted to the whole world; what happened was that unconsciously she was constantly trying to rebel against her mother by no longer revealing the truth as she did on that unfortunate occasion. The symptom caused her much discomfort and unpleasantness. Sometimes, for instance, she would be out socially, and in speaking about some book or play would deliberately distort the facts. She was conscious of it, but could do nothing to correct the condition, it was a sort of obsession with her.

Such cases are not at all rare. They are found among people who are normal intellectually and who cannot be considered in any sense psychopathic. The fundamental reason for the symptom may usually be traced to just such an emotionally accentuated occurrence, as we have noted in Mrs. F.'s case.

With the advance of age we are expected to tell the truth, and the average normal person can do so to a certain extent. The lies then serve a definite purpose. They are usually well balanced and sometimes even very ingenious and complicated. The same holds true in the abnormal classes; the greater the intellect, the more difficult it is to detect the lie. Moral idiots and superior degenerates often make such good impressions that they frequently escape detection for a long time, while it is simple enough to see through the lies of children, of most mental defectives and insane. On the other hand, the lowest type, the idiot, is usually incapable of telling a lie. His extreme mental poverty allows him to follow unhindered all his simple desires; he has not enough brains to formulate a lie. He is therefore honesty personified,

PSYCHOANALYSIS

That telling the truth among normals is considered as something verging on the impossible is shown by the fact that one of the greatest attributes of the Father of this country is that he never told a lie. As a matter of fact every normal person tells a lie on certain occasions, and provided certain conditions are fulfilled, it is not counted against him even if he is detected.

To be called a liar, a person must not only show a frequent tendency to fabricate but must also evince a certain weak-mindedness in its execution. Thus a well-bred, apparently intelligent woman had the reputation of being a liar. When I met her for the first time, we had occasion to speak of a well-known physician. She remarked that this doctor was much devoted to her. "He kisses me whenever I leave the office," she went on to declare. Noticing my great surprise, for it was indeed an anomalous condition for me to imagine, as I knew the man intimately, she added, "I am just like a daughter to him." I am sure that such behavior was absolutely foreign to him. This woman was psychopathic and was well known as a habitual liar.

A doctor of this same type told me once that he worked in a certain clinic in Europe with which I was very well acquainted. We spoke about the professor who was at the head of the department, and he remarked: "Prof. X. thinks so much of me that he sent me the proof sheets of a book he just wrote and asked me to correct them and make any suggestions I deem fit." Every lie, like every dream, must be determined by something. I knew the determinant of this: the professor was actually to have given out a new edition of the book referred to. "Do you mean the third edition of his . . .?" I interposed. "Why, I have the book home already; it just came to me." He protested vehemently that this could not be and turned away terribly piqued. Both these individuals (the woman mentioned above and this

doctor) are well-known liars among their friends and acquaintances. We have a special name for their malady,—“pseudologia phantastica.” People of this type have constantly a desire to fill up the voidness in themselves.

I once had a patient who upon coming late would declare apologetically: “Doctor, I am sorry I am late; I just dined with the Duchess of Devonshire.” At first I did not know whether to believe him or not. He would go into details about the Duchess, inform me who her grandmother was and relate many other intimate facts. At another time he said he dined with the Duke. He kept that up for a week, when I discovered that there was not an iota of truth in what he said. He had delusions of grandeur and tried in this way to realize his abnormal wishes. He thought that he was an illegitimate child and that he came from the nobility. He had made a study of English nobility and was thus able to play his part pretty well. I have no doubt that as time went on he began to believe in the deception himself.

It is a known fact that eventually ordinary liars believe their lies and thus realize their wishes. A few years ago I often heard an acquaintance tell of his interesting experiences in a military academy, where he said he spent a few years. I was very much surprised to find years later when I analyzed him that he never saw this academy. He told me that at the age of ten years he was attracted to a boy, a military student, and entertained a very strong wish to enter this military academy. He took a great interest in military life, and read much about this school, but owing to financial difficulties, his ardent wish could never be realized. When he applied for his first position, he boldly stated that he attended this school, and as the lie remained unnoticed, he stuck to it for years and finally believed that he actually studied there for a long time.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that tendencies

to fabricate can be produced by exogenous factors. I am referring to Korsakoff's psychosis, a condition found among alcoholics. Here the poison having destroyed life-long inhibitions, the patients find it very easy to tell the most phantastic and embellished adventures. They never become embarrassed when brought to bay, because their mental processes are paralyzed. Ask such a patient, who is confined to bed, what he did in the morning and he replies most cheerfully: "I have been out and walked down on Broadway and went into a saloon on 23rd Street, met Mr _____, etc." And all the time he was in bed, but he makes the story so specific that one who does not know, finds it difficult not to believe him. All we have to do is to give him the slightest suggestion and he has a long story ready. Ask him for some money, and he will at once begin to search for his trousers, though he really has not a cent that he can call his own. There are no inhibitions whatever, everything runs smoothly; it is a state of euphoria. Indeed, we may say weak-mindedness due to any cause permits ambitions to run riot, and as the individual finds it impossible to realize them, he makes believe to his fellow-being that he has actually accomplished all his mighty deeds. In this respect, he resembles the prolific dreamer who has many wishes to fulfill, but whereas the latter by virtue of ethical inhibitions can only realize his desires in sleep, the psychopathic liar, who has never fully developed mental inhibitions, puts his wishes in operation in the waking state.

~ Some lies manifest themselves in very peculiar ways. Thus, I knew a patient, a young woman, who suddenly stopped urinating. No amount of urging on the part of the physicians in the sanitarium where she was treated could cause her to attend to this bodily function. Sometimes she maintained that she could not attend to these wants, other times that she simply felt no need for them. And, strange

to say, while the doctors were seriously concerned over her ailment she secretly appropriated towels and used them as receptacles for her excretions, which she then threw out of the window. Here the lie was determined by a reversion to infantile eroticisms manifesting themselves in the desire to solicit the doctor's attention to the genitals. This case recalls Prof. Virchow's case of Louise Lateau, who refused to take food because she maintained that she was a saint and needed no nourishment. Virchow ascertained that she had regular movements of the bowels and decided that she was secretly taking nourishment. For, he argued, and surely with good reason, that though the Lord created the world out of nothing, no mortal could produce matter out of nothing. Those of you who are interested in cases of this kind, will find much interesting material in the police records. They make up the classes of international swindlers, charlatans, malingerers, etc.

The liar shows a definite relation to the born criminal from whom he differs only in degree. The latter being usually lower in the mental scale does not even have to lie; he sees something that he wants and straightway sets out to get it. And that is why, as we have pointed out previously, the criminal dreams considerably less than the average normal person: he actually realizes many more of his wishes than his normal brother.

The liar is also related to the poet, who may be called an artificial dreamer or a convention fabricator. Prof. Prescott in his interesting study of Poetry and Dreams expresses himself as follows on the origin of poetry: "It represents the fulfillment of our ungratified wishes or desires." The same mechanism is found in habitual liars, and to a lesser degree, in every normal person. What is the distinction between them? The normal dissatisfied person contents himself with fancy formation which he keeps to himself very

carefully. He does not wish to reveal his secret desires because he is ashamed to do so and, what is more, he knows that we will not be interested in them. The liar has never outgrown his infancy, so that even as an adult his fancies, his wishes are of a childish nature; he is unable to adapt himself to reality, so that he constructs his world on the infantile foundation. His fancies are therefore characterized throughout by extreme egotism. He is the hero of every adventure, the "*sine qua non*" in every situation. That is why he repels us, for we do not like to see another individual behave so all-importantly. The poet or writer overcomes these difficulties by toning down the egotistic character of his fancies. He conceals them under the hero, and that is why his productions give us pure aesthetic pleasure. We are fascinated by the situation because it offers us the opportunity to put ourselves into the hero's place, and our pleasure is thus derived from deep psychic sources. In other words, the poet offers us an enticing premium or a forepleasure, whereby we may release some of our own mental and emotional tension. But the liar, like the child, wants everything and obtains pleasure solely in reciting to others his egotistic adventures.

I now propose to take up a class of dreams known as typical dreams. We classify them under that heading because there is hardly a person who does not have them at some time of his life. One of the most common of the typical dreams is the dream of being naked. As Charles Dickens has so happily put it, it is a dream that everybody has, "from Queen Elizabeth to her most humble gaoler." He describes it quite characteristically: we find ourselves naked in a crowd; though no one seems to notice us or pay us the slightest attention, we ourselves are greatly embarrassed. The dream is sometimes also modified. In-

**Typical
Dreams**

stead of being naked, the dreamer is not dressed as he should be. With all the others in evening clothes at a ball, for instance, he may find himself in every-day attire; or if he is in the army, he may find himself dressed contrary to the regulations. Such dreams go back to the earliest period of childhood, when the child is naked and experiences no feeling of shame. Prof. Freud declares that this age of childhood in which the sense of shame is not present seems to our later recollections a paradise, and the idea of paradise itself is nothing but a composite phantasy from the childhood of the individual. It is for this reason that in paradise human beings are naked and are not at all ashamed. When the child grows older, the sense of shame and fear is aroused; it is then that sexual life and cultural development begin. The problem of nakedness is not only found in the story of Adam and Eve, but is quite a dominant theme in fairy tales. You may all recall Andersen's fascinating story of the two rogues who wove that wonderful cloak for the king that only those could see who were truly fit for their positions. You remember that neither the king nor his court nor the populace would admit that nothing was seen; every one was afraid to confess the truth lest he thus betray his unfitness for his particular position, and admired the garment immensely. It remained for a little child to disclose openly that the king was really naked and thus put an end to the ruse. Observe how the unconscious, with which we may identify the child, always tells the truth.

What do these dreams of nakedness represent? According to Prof. Freud they are exhibition dreams. We must bear in mind that despite the fact that we are perfectly reconciled to our ethical criteria, we unconsciously live through many of the infantile states. We still like to walk about naked as we did when we were children. There is no greater pleasure that you can give to children than to

allow them to walk about naked; it is quite common for travelers to see children in certain parts of Europe exhibit themselves. Indeed, I have no doubt that Andersen's story itself is a reminiscence of the author's own exhibitionism, of his own unconscious craving to appear naked. We see this reversion to infantile feelings even in the waking state. As you may know, the whole art of dressmaking always aims at one thing,—discovering some new way of displaying the woman's body, of rendering prominent those parts of the body which attract men. The décolleté and the evening dresses we see at the opera and at the dinner are markedly exhibitionistic despite the fact that they are worn by highly respectable ladies. It is also a matter of common observation that the woman who is not very proud of her physical make-up is by no means eager to display it.

The next typical dream is the dream of the death of relatives. I feel that everybody has had dreams of this nature. The dreamer is usually very much affected by the death and reacts to it in the dream just as deeply as in the waking state. Of course, in view of the fact that our dreams are wish realizations a great many will be shocked and wonder why you should wish your relatives to die. Such dreams usually go back to very early childhood when the conception of death held no terror to the child, when death merely involved absence. A little child cannot conceive the real significance of the fact; all that he understands is that the father is just away on his vacation perhaps, or on a trip. He does not have the same reaction to death that we observe in the adult. The child often welcomes this protracted absence, for he is thus freed from the restraint that his father imposed upon him.

In the same way it may seem strange to dream of the death of one's sister in view of our fundamental thesis that the dream represents essentially a hidden wish. But we find that if there are two sisters in the home the older child will

usually impose her will upon the younger one. The younger child is helpless, but in the absence of her sister she is able to enjoy a degree of freedom and independence that she could not have before. In one particular case of two married sisters, for instance, the younger one dreamed that her sister was dead and experienced all the emotions that go with mourning. Upon analysis it was found that her dream went back to her childhood when she was dominated by her sister. She did not wish so much in the dream that the sister were dead in the real sense of the word, but that she were away. This is the basic significance of all dreams of this type; we are dealing here with a situation representing an infantile wish.

There are a number of dreams, however, describing the death of a relative in which we find no sadness, no grief, no affective elements whatsoever. We have here an altogether different situation. Such dreams do not denote death at all. I reported, for example, the case of a man who related to me how he dreamed that he saw his brother with his head cut open and was by no means affected by the terrible sight; it seemed quite natural to him to see his brother in that condition. It is noteworthy that he came to me some time before the dream and asked me whether I thought there was any substance in what he read in the newspapers about trephining a defective boy's head to make him well. I assured him that that was all nonsense and impossible. His brother was quite a serious problem to him and the dream, far from expressing the wish that his brother were dead, expressed his ardent desire that he be cured.

I would have you note also a type of dream in which the sister dreams of the death of her brother. The relations between brother and sister are not at all as amicable and harmonious as we generally suppose. Our ethical training enjoins upon us to live harmoniously and we realize that

we ought to be good and just to our sisters and brothers. But frankly, I have never observed more bitter enmities than between brothers and sisters. They know how to hate because they know also how to love. I have analyzed many a dream which, shocking though it was to the moral principle of the dreamer, contained nevertheless the remnants of this early hatred between brother and sister. Thus an intelligent cultured woman dreamed that her brother was dead. The situation was that her mother had left some money which her brother was planning to appropriate despite the fact that she needed it far more urgently than he. But I would have you mark very carefully that in reality this woman would rather do without the money than have her brother die. In the unconscious, however, we are living through our childhood, we are primitive and absolutely egocentric, we are concerned with problems solely as they affect us. In the unconscious our wishes balk at nothing: we are ready to dispatch through death or any other means any person who stands in our way.

Very often, too, our secret desires may be unconsciously realized even in the waking state. I have reported the case of a noted physician in New York who was hurriedly called away from his home to the bedside of his sick, old uncle. When he came he did not take over the charge of the case, because everything possible was done for the patient by his own family physicians. All hope for the patient's recovery was abandoned and his death was expected every day. But despite the many complications, the patient held on to life tenaciously and days passed without any marked apparent change. His nephew became quite anxious to return to New York as soon as possible, as there was a very busy practice awaiting him, and what was more, there was illness in his own family. One evening the uncle became very ill, and as the attending physicians were away, he gave him a

hypodermic to stimulate his heart. Very shortly the old man died. When he later looked at the vial from which he took the drug, he found, to his great consternation, that instead of giving him strychnin, he gave him hyoscine, a drug that has exactly the opposite action of strychnin. In other words, he actually killed the patient. Consciously, of course, he did not wish to kill him, and in his terrible mortification, he consoled himself in the thought that he would have died soon anyway. The physician unconsciously hastened the man's death in his great eagerness to return to his home. He informed me of this, years after it happened: he assured me that he revealed the fact to no one; he merely wished to corroborate what I said in one of my psychoanalytic papers. I learnt also, that when a boy, he had many dreams of the death of this very uncle, and indeed very often actually wished that the man were dead. The boy's father died when the child was very young, and the uncle was unusually severe with him. Though he became more and more attached to him as he grew older, it would seem that the *coup de grace* did not lack hostile motivation.

In the unconscious, then, our own immediate welfare takes precedence over every other consideration: father, brother, sister, and relative are only of minor importance. Thus an important question to ask yourself in dream analysis is "cui bono," to whose advantage is the underlying situation in the dream? If it is to the advantage of the dreamer, or in other words, if it falls in line with his secret inner demands and strivings, then the dream has its significance only in terms of that situation and no other, for the dream always deals with problems of the most intimate personal character. *The dream is always egocentric.*

- There is another typical dream dealing with the death of the father, that we find particularly among young sons. We have to consider here the primitive state of the human being.

There is always a rivalry between father and son for the love of the mother, and this, despite the fact that the father may love his boy very dearly. The son has learned that he receives much more attention and love from his mother, and is treated more leniently in the father's absence. In this type of dream, therefore, we see the desire on the part of the child to get rid of his father. It is really surprising to note how many boys dream openly as well as disguisedly of the death of their father. These dreams are even more common than those dealing with the death of the teacher, for the latter plays a smaller part in the child's psychic life than the father. For one thing the teacher comes into his life at a later period and as he is not surrounded with the halo of parental sanctity, hostile feelings against the teacher are generally quite conscious.

We call such dreams of the death of the father *Oedipus* dreams, because, according to Prof. Freud, to whom we are indebted for the name, they bring to light an essentially human situation that has found most fitting expression in Sophocles' noted tragedy of "Oedipus Rex." You remember the story:

Laius, the King of Thebes, married Jocasta. After years of childless marriage, Laius visited the Delphian Apollo and prayed for a child. The answer of the god was as follows: "Your prayer has been heard and a son will be given to you, but you will die at his hand, for Zeus decided to fulfill the curse of Polybos, whose son you have once kidnaped." In spite of the warning the son was born, but remembering the oracle, the child's feet were pierced and tied, and he was delivered to a faithful servant to be exposed. The latter, however, gave the child to a Corinthian shepherd who took it to his master, the King of Corinth, who, being childless, adopted it and called it *Oedipus*, meaning swollen feet. When the boy grew up into manhood he became uncertain

of his own origin, and consulting the oracle, received the following message: "Do not return home for thou art destined to kill thy father and marry thy mother." In order to avoid the fulfillment of this prophecy Oedipus at once left Corinth and accidentally wandered toward Thebes. On the way he met King Laius and in a sudden altercation with him struck him dead. He then came to the gates of Thebes, where he solved the riddle of the Sphinx who barred his way. As a reward for ridding Thebes of this scourge he was elected king and presented with the hand of the widowed queen, Jocasta. He reigned in peace for many years and begot two sons and two daughters with his unknown mother, until a plague broke out which caused the Thebans to consult the oracle. The messenger returned with the advice that the plague would cease as soon as the murderer of King Laius would be driven from the country. Sophocles then develops the play in a psychoanalytic manner until the true relations are discovered, namely, that Oedipus killed his own father and married his own mother. The tragedy ends by Oedipus blinding himself and wandering away into voluntary exile.

According to Prof. Freud this noted Greek tragedy depicts a typical situation found in the psychic life of every individual, that undoubtedly Sophocles wrote the play as a reaction to his own feelings towards his father and his attachment to his mother. Indeed, Freud has pointed out that there are many passages in the play which very definitely demonstrate that it was based upon dream material. We find, for instance, that when Oedipus was so profoundly mortified by the true facts of the tragedy, his mother Jocasta consoles him in one passage thus: "Do not worry over this, because many a man has found himself in his dreams the partner of his mother's bed, but those go through life best who take those things as trifles." It would seem then, that

the author had grasped the full psychological import of what appears to be a universal situation.

Œdipus dreams or dreams involving sexual relations with one's immediate family are very common. It is noteworthy that when I first wrote a paper on the subject I had collected probably only forty or fifty dreams of this type. But upon its publication I began to receive numerous letters from various people, all of whom had the same story to relate: "I was so shocked by these dreams,—I thought I was the only one to have them. But I am relieved to know that they are quite common." That was the general tenor of the communications. We may say, then, that it is everybody's fate, as it were, to be a rival of his own father and have his first love directed towards his own mother. Such a situation has a profound influence upon the individual's whole life. We shall meet it again when we discuss the subject of the only child. It is absolutely necessary to understand it in order to form the proper adjustment to life.

All such dreams are in the final analysis a reaction to the tyrannical part played by the father in the household. The tyranny of father over son is a subject which stands out prominently in folklore and mythology; the struggle between the Greek gods is essentially a conflict between father and son. It is also quite a common theme in literature. I now recall, for instance, that in one year there were no less than five plays running in New York which dealt with the rivalry between father and son. In fact the Œdipus trend is more common in literature than is generally supposed. I have recently read an article by a well-known playreader in New York in which the writer stated that he could not understand why authors should deal so much with topics of the Œdipus character. He went on to assert that many excellent plays had to be rejected because the theme is too delicate; the love between mother and son or sister and

brother is too grossly evident. You see the sister is usually a substitute for the mother.

We shall learn later, that when the normal sexual development is retarded through an over-indulgence in love for the son on the part of the mother, a fixation on the mother may result. When we say that the man is fixed on the mother or the woman on the father, we do not mean the parents as they look to-day but as they appeared when the children were still infants. At that early age of the child's life the mother and father looked different and also behaved differently. The influence of such a fixation upon the parent is only too apparent in the later selection of the adult. Given a number of women to choose from, a man will invariably select the woman that has been more or less selected for him in the unconscious. That is to say, if everything is normal he will be guided from the very outset by the image of his own mother. If conditions are not normal, however, his selection will be controlled by the reaction formed against it.

Consider, for instance, the case of Mr. B., who informed me that as far as he could remember he was always attracted to women of the Grecian type, tall, well formed and well developed. And though he married a woman of that type, he could not understand why his *grand passion* was for a woman of the opposite type, that is to say, more like the French or the petite type. When we investigate his life we find that his mother was of French descent, of the French type. The question naturally suggests itself, why should he have been drawn to women of the opposite type or, in other words, to women so radically different from the mother image? Upon first thought we might say that such a condition is only proof of nature's far-sightedness in trying to preserve the proper balance, for if like were to attract like we would have on the one hand, one might say, a race of giants, and on the other, a race of pygmies. But the explanation is not so

simple. In speaking to Mr. B. about his mother, he recalled that he never forgave his father for actually poking fun at his mother on two different occasions because of her small stature, and how deeply touched he felt at some of the disparaging remarks directed at her on that very account by various other people. It is not difficult to see what happened here. Consciously Mr. B was always trying to tear himself away from that particular short-coming of his mother by seeking tall women. But in the unconscious he gravitated toward the mother image, and accordingly experienced his *grand passion* only when he met the type of woman that approached most closely her type. As you see, then, we are very often negatively influenced by these early attractions.

In normal cases the individual always gravitates toward the parent image, and it is for this reason that husband and wife resemble each other's parents. I have seen numerous cases where the wife resembled the husband's mother or sister to such an unusual degree that one could hardly tell the difference between the two. Thus a New York boy upon the death of his father left his home and went to California, where he was brought up by an uncle. When he married he came east with his wife on his honeymoon, and the moment his mother saw her she declared that the latter looked just like his younger sister Jane. In fact, she insisted that she saw the marked resemblance from the photograph her son had sent her, but she was quite sure of it now. He walked with his wife on the avenue one day and his sister's classmate, who did not live in New York, ran up to her and kissed her warmly, thinking that she was her friend Jane. People mistook his wife for his sister so frequently that he finally began to become aware of the resemblance himself. I have five photographs, three of his wife and two of his sister, pasted on a cardboard and I have shown them to quite a number of people, some of whom are artists, and

there was only one man who could tell the difference between the two women. This he did by resorting to such devices as measuring the angle of the chin and so on. It was absolutely impossible for the average observer to distinguish between the two women. The problem of resemblance has been noted by many students who were not at all working psychologically in our sense. Pearson, an Englishman, for instance, has investigated this subject on a physical basis, studying the color of the hair, stature, color of the eyes, etc., and formulated the conclusion that judging from physical resemblances married people look more like first cousins than strangers.

It is because the artist also actually gravitates towards some more or less definite image that we have the Madonna cult. It is needless to say that the various studies of the virgin Mary are all the products of artists who did not live at the time of the Madonna. None of them really knew how she actually looked, and indeed if she resembled any type of woman at all, she must have resembled the Jewish woman. It is noteworthy that a German artist has recently actually painted a Madonna of the Jewish type. Careful study shows that the Madonnas that we see everywhere are really nothing but idealized images of the artist's own mother. Thus Madonnas painted by Italian artists resemble the Italian woman, those by Spaniards the Spanish woman, and so on. Study for a moment Leonardo Da Vinci's St. Anna and the Child and you will at once observe how much they resemble his own Mona Lisa; they all seem to have that peculiar Leonardesque quality, that enigmatic smile that we hear so much about. In the same way also his John the Baptist bears a marked resemblance to his Mona Lisa and it is quite common to mistake him for a young woman. We may say that in all these paintings the artist has unconsciously reproduced the image of his own mother. They are all

reproductions of the artist's ideal image of his mother. I have ample corroboration of this in the artistic productions of modern artists whose lives I know intimately, but unfortunately material of this character cannot be divulged at present.

CHAPTER IX

TYPES OF DREAMS (*Continued*)

As there has been considerable objection to dreams of the death of parents, it may be wise to analyze with you a dream of this type given to me by a patient. It will show you very definitely how even later in life one dreams of the death of parents, though, of course, by no means openly as in childhood, but in a hidden, veiled way. *Mrs. B. dreamed that two old people, a man who seemed to be her father only that he looked much older, and a woman who seemed to be his wife and resembled her grandmother, or, more definitely, her mother's mother, were starting for a walk. "I was ill, at least in bed, so I told the people around me to follow them. No one wanted to, so I got up and followed them. They walked through the dining room, passed a pantry, and then came to another pantry which was open. As the old woman seemed unsteady on her feet, I called to the man to hold her back; just then he opened the door and pushed her down and she was killed, as he wished. He turned his head, saw that I was there and realized that I noticed everything. I wrote down the dream and went back to bed and dreamed the same dream over again, only this time I stepped back so that the old man did not see that I saw him commit the murder."*

Mrs. B., a woman of thirty, suffered from a profound psychoneurosis. Her father and mother had been living apart for over twenty years and were total strangers to each other, and this, despite the fact that they both lived under the same roof. This was as well known to outsiders

as to the children themselves, but somehow the parents did not care to separate. What was more, the children knew that the father had a mistress who was his former stenographer; their sympathies were entirely with him, for, from their descriptions, the mother was apparently a paranoiac. They considered her insane and felt that she made the father's life miserable. Mrs. B. even claimed that she had no objection to her father's amour with the stenographer. She knew the young woman personally and held her in high regard. But she always entertained a more or less deep-seated dislike for her, for she realized that she was being deprived by her of a good deal of the father' affection, she saw in her a rival of his love. She experienced what we designate in our work the *ambivalent* feeling, a feeling of contrast: the individual loves and hates, as it were, at the same time. Love and hate go hand in hand. When one loves deeply the more or less disagreeable characteristics of the person will be completely concealed under the love. A man who is in love will see nothing of that which other persons consider a marked blemish in his *inamorata*. This ambivalence of feeling is a well-known mechanism and we should try to understand it. In ordinary life, of course, we can usually separate the two feelings: "He is a good teacher, but he knows so little about life," you may say about your teacher. "He is a very fine man, but lacks character as far as business is concerned," you may think to yourself about your employer. But when it concerns one whom we love or are supposed to love, we have to hide the disagreeable phase of his character. "He is a fine father, but a despicable man," one cannot say about his father. A mother would never observe: "My daughter is very accomplished, but not quite well behaved morally." We do not see the shortcomings of those we love or are supposed to love. But uncon-

sciously we are well aware of them; though we hide them they keep on growing luxuriously in the unconscious.

Mrs. B. was married to a man whom she did not wish to marry originally. She had been engaged to him for a number of years, but somehow it was one of those chronic engagements. Like a chronic wound,—a chronic engagement never works well. Usually the long-engaged fiancée or her lover marries some one else suddenly, or if they do marry eventually, they are never happy. It does not at all bespeak happiness in matrimony when the fiancée confidently declares: "I have known him ever so long." We must remember that the love impulse is normally acute and vehement and sees things through at all costs. Anything chronic, even in love, is not good. It is not surprising, then, that when Mrs. B. finally did marry the man, she found she could not get along with him. She would live with him for a few months only to return to her parents again. In a way she imitated the conditions that existed in her own home. This is no accident. Adjustment always begins at home and the individual always adjusts himself in proportion to the degree of adjustment that existed in the home. Whenever there is quarreling and friction in the family, the child either develops a neurosis, or imitates the home condition later in his life. I can cite numerous cases showing how marked this imitation is. I have cases that go back to four generations where the same imitation prevailed,—unhappy married life, separation, divorce. It is really an unconscious reproduction from one generation to another that is not at all hereditary. Mrs. B. very definitely reproduced the situation that she saw in her own home, except that she identified herself with the father rather than with the mother. But she could not continue this very long, presently she broke down, she began to have hallucinations, some mild delusions and various other symptoms.

When I began to treat the patient, there at once came up the problem of her husband. As I do not take any special attitude in such matrimonial difficulties, I left her to decide for herself. It was a difficult problem to solve: on the one hand, she did not wish to stay with her husband, on the other hand, it was hard for her to stay in her parents' home. Her mother would often ask, "What would you do if I were to die?" She was thus but indirectly referring to the fact that if she were to die the father would at once marry the stenographer, and the daughter would consequently have to leave the house. There was considerable truth in this, and the argument struck home, for Mrs. B. always wanted to have the management of the house herself and she feared the possibility of seeing it pass over entirely into the hands of her father's mistress.

Analysis of the dream revealed that the man in the dream represented her father; the woman appeared to be an old lady, perhaps over a hundred years old, and resembling her grandmother. She informed me that her mother resembled her grandmother. Now the latter died at eighty-six and had she lived until the day of the dream she would have been one hundred and one. The slight difference between the woman in the dream and the mother recalled to her the features of the stenographer, her father's mistress. The combined ages of the stenographer who was thirty-one and the mother was exactly eighty-six years. In other words, there was a condensation of the two persons, the grandmother representing both the mother and the stenographer.

In the dream, as we see, the father kills them both, and that is indeed the best solution for the patient. She does not sympathize with her mother and would often complain, "There is no use talking about her; she is crazy and does not understand me." As for the stenographer, she liked her and was grateful to her for what she did to help the father.

Her objections to her were simply due to a feeling of jealousy. One of the reasons for the friction between her and her husband was that he could not supply her with the little luxuries that she was able to receive from her father at home, whose favorite daughter she was. The only possible solution that she could see was to leave her husband altogether and stay at home. Her father offered to help her husband but the husband would not accept any aid, though he was willing, however, to live at home with her and thus save rent. But she protested that she married to get away from her home, and that she did not see any use for her husband if she were to remain at home. "Imagine," she declared, "sitting at dinner with a mother and a father who do not talk, the father thinking all the while of the mistress; and you sit there, too, with your husband whom you do not like." On the other hand, the mother was always ready with that powerful argument: "If I should die, you know what would happen to you." We see then how convenient it was for the father to kill both women: the patient would then have the house for herself and her father and not be hampered by a crazy mother and a rival mistress. She did not, of course, formulate such a wish consciously, but you see how well it fits in with the situation. It is remarkable that there was this condensation, not only in appearance, but also in age. The age of the old lady just equals the combined ages of the two women. This may seem very peculiar to you but it is a common occurrence in dreams.

It is interesting to note the other work of the psychic censor¹ in her dreaming the dream over again. This time

¹ The psychic censor, as the term is used in our work, is nothing but the inhibitions imposed upon the individual by society, and once established, operates all the time, whether we are awake or asleep. As we have pointed out previously, between consciousness and the unconscious there is a screen which we designate as the fore-conscious. In the unconscious, the psychic material is in the pure unalloyed form, infantile wishes are there, primitive urges. But

she did not wish her father to see that she observed him murdering her mother. The day previous I explained to her the wish as the dream-motive and the modified dream, therefore, shows her agreement with what I told her, namely, that every dream represents the fulfillment of a hidden wish. *For a dream repeating something heard shows that the dreamer is in harmony with the thought or sentiment expressed.*

A common typical dream is the so-called *examination dream*. The dreamer usually seems to be taking an examination and has the same emotional reaction to it that we observe in the waking state; he experiences the same sense of uneasiness and uncertainty that accompany the actual experience. The strange thing is that all during the dream he protests against the idea of being subjected to an examination: "Why should I be examined in this subject," he seems to be saying to himself. "Am I not already a doctor?" But the examination nevertheless continues. Another interesting thing to note is that one is examined not in a subject in which one was poor or failed, as might be supposed, but rather in a subject in which one was considerably proficient. Analysis shows that these dreams are typical of individuals who have received the usual academic education at schools and colleges. Upon examining them you find that you have them only at a time when you are about to embark upon some new venture and you experience a feeling of uncertainty and fear as to its outcome. You go to bed with that same uneasy feeling that you had on the day before the examination. "Yes," you may think to yourself, "I know my subject but I may be asked something that I do not know." Before it can reach consciousness it has to pass through the fore-conscious where it is censored. Upon reaching consciousness, it is thus in a modified and distorted form. In the above dream the distortion was inevitable: the dreamer could not openly kill the mother, and so she concealed her under the composite person of the grandmother and the stenographer,

know." And so when you retire with your mind uneasy as to the outcome of your undertaking, by association you recall that same emotional feeling experienced in the past on the similar occasion, and the result is an examination dream in a subject which you have passed with honors, so that you might be able to console yourself thus: "Now you were afraid before your examination but you passed it without difficulty: in the same way also you will pass this examination. Do not worry, do not fear." We must remember that what is of fundamental consideration is the emotional element in the dream. If there is any resemblance between the emotional element of to-day and any emotional element of the past, the dream will conjure up the past in all its vividness. In the particular case it is a *consolation dream*: all uncertainty is to be removed: you are to be consoled. But the psychic censor, which always realizes that you are only dreaming, cannot possibly eliminate the element of fear and uncertainty that you experienced on the occasion of the actual examination. When the dreamer awakens he feels greatly relieved that it was only a dream. Some of you may recall in this connection the case of the man who dreamed that he was swimming on a board in the bay. We may say that this was a sort of examination dream. In the dream, as you remember, a boyhood experience was revived; we may say that he again engaged in a race, this time, however, not with his young playmates but with a board of directors, and as in those boyhood matches he finds himself again successful.

There is a class of dreams which continue to manifest themselves for weeks and months until the wish they contain is actually realized. They are what are commonly regarded as "*prophetic dreams*." A chronic alcoholic showing delusions of jealousy disliked a dog because his wife "was more attached to the dog than to him." He continued to dream

at different times that the dog was run over, taken away by the dog catcher, etc., until one day during his wife's absence he really disposed of it. Here the dream ostensibly treated of the future, at least so the wife thought on her return home. "Poor Fido," she exclaimed, "John (husband) dreamed only last week that he was caught by the dog catchers and now the dream has come true." This is what is designated as the *resolution dream*. The person resolves, perhaps unconsciously, to do a certain thing and the dream continues to represent it as realized until it is actually accomplished. That is why dreams of this class are regarded as prophetic dreams, "dreams that come true." I have analyzed a number of them and all showed that the wish always preceded the event in question. Thus one of my patients dreamed that her brother who lived in another city was dead, and after relating her dream to her husband received word that her brother had really died. The analysis showed that her brother suffered from chronic tuberculosis which the doctors declared fatal months before. She was fully aware of the gravity of his malady and often thought he would be better off dead than alive. Her mother lived with her, but owing to her brother's illness, she stayed with him. She was nearing the end of a pregnancy and daily hoped that her mother would return before her confinement. This recalled similar experiences of childhood when her mother often neglected her for the same brother because he was very delicate and sickly. As a child she often wished him dead, a thing quite common among children to whom the idea of death means simply to be away. The conscious wish "he would be better off dead than alive" became the dream incitor because it succeeded in arousing a similar infantile wish.

The realization of our waking dreams shows precisely the same mechanisms. This can be observed not only in the

individual but in whole races. We all know that the "Leitmotif" of orthodox Judaism is and always has been the reestablishment of a Jewish nationality, the return to Jerusalem; and should Zionism ever succeed in obtaining Palestine, the Biblical dreams, the prophecies, would be considered as having "come true."

Another typical dream is that of *missing trains*. I would not consider this a typical dream if it did not usually have one very important and distinct connotation, despite its many other meanings depending upon the individual case. We observe in this dream a state of anxiety; the individual experiences all the unpleasantness of packing hurriedly to make the train, he meets with all sorts of difficulties and hindrances on the way, and to cap the climax, he finally misses the train. We have here again a consolation dream; we are told, as it were, not to worry, as there will be no departure. This type of dream is usually a reaction to the fear of death, and recalls to the dreamer some scene in early childhood when his parents were taken from him, sometimes through actual death, sometimes for just some trip, leaving him heartbroken and crying.

We must also not fail to note the important part the train plays in the child's life. Typifying, as it does, motion to the highest degree, the moving train has a powerful hold on his imagination, exercising a fascination over him no less profound than his first sense of awe and terror at the sight.

One of the most typical dreams is the *flying dream*. A man related to me the following dream of this type: He was walking, and all of a sudden he felt lighter and lighter and suddenly he began to glide over the tops of houses and the whole city was looking up to him as to an aeroplane. Such dreams are usually found among people who have unbounded ambitions, who wish to excel and stand high in the estimation of the world. Very often it is found also among those who

are not tall of stature, who by no means relish the idea of having to look up to people when speaking to them. They would rather look down upon others and the only way they can realize such a wish is in soaring far above them or, in other words, in flying. One man who came under my observation had this type of dream quite often; and it is noteworthy that his most ardent wish was to be taller than he was. He often resorted to mechanical appliances and similar methods to pull his limbs.

It is hard to imagine what an important rôle in life the wish to be taller plays. I have known a number of people who informed me with all the emotion that usually goes with the disclosure of some very intimate, personal secret, how hard they always tried to be just a little taller. It is hard to realize how much time, money and effort men and women spend in their sanctum sanctorum, in the pursuit of divers means and ways to become taller.

An unusually interesting typical dream is the *falling dream*. It is significant to note that at certain times in life one has more dreams of this type than at other times. Various investigators in attempting to account for the dream psychologically, have offered all kinds of far-fetched and amusing explanations. One of the most common of these is that, in accordance with the culture-epoch theory, the dream goes back to prehistoric times, and in this particular case, to the period when we were monkeys and lived on the tops of trees. We are told that when the monkey fell down peradventure from the tree at night, he was immediately devoured by some vicious reptile, and that it is for that reason that we never strike the ground in the dream. Such a notion is difficult to conceive in the light of the most modern investigations along these lines; surely it is hard to conceive of a monkey falling down from a tree and being at once swallowed by some cowering reptile. Moreover, I

have known dreams where the dreamer falls and actually strikes the ground. What the falling dream essentially denotes, however, is a repressed pleasure originating from motion, which, as we know, is a fundamental pleasure principle in life. Motion is a passive root of sex and as such has a powerful appeal to young and old alike. Thus from time out of date, among uncivilized and civilized peoples alike, the way to pacify the child that was unsatisfied with nursing, was to rock it. We know that as the child grows older it likes to be taken up by an adult, thrown up in the air and caught: it experiences a sense of exhilaration and pleasure in the experience. Later on this early emotion repeats itself in dreams, but then we now no longer conceive it in terms of pleasure, but, rather in terms of pain. It is now a repressed, a tabooed pleasure. That is why so many men and women have these falling dreams as symbolic of moral falling. I have on record many dreams of falling given to me by women when they were struggling with the idea of moral falling. I reported a dream of a woman who informed me that she dreamed that she was climbing a staircase and found it very difficult; she was always afraid that she would fall down. Right on top of the staircase there stood an old classmate of hers of whom she knew nothing, not having seen her since they left school; she had heard, however, that she was a most unscrupulous, immoral woman now. Thus her dream was the result of her struggling with the repressed thought; she was trying to reach the station of her classmate. The dream being of the anxiety type she woke up in a marked state of fear. The moral here is very evident: "If you are going to do what you are thinking of you will be just like your classmate"; the classmate standing here as a symbol for moral falling.

There are dreams which you might say are of a *local* character. This is particularly observed when we examine

the dreams of southern gentlemen. The latter invariably have sexual dreams referring to colored women. This would seem strange in view of the degree of aloofness with which the colored people in the South are treated by the white population. But I have never known a southern gentleman who did not at some time in life have erotic dreams about colored women. The reason is quite apparent: all of these men had negro mammies and it is to them that they owe their first early impression of the mother. It is well known that many southern ladies have practically nothing to do with the care of their children, that it is left entirely to the mammy. It is on that account that the mammy is so very often highly esteemed and even considered as a member of the family. But the fact is that she is colored and her impress on the child manifests itself consequently in his later erotic dreams. Whereas, then, the southern gentleman will not deign to be in the same car with a colored woman, he has nevertheless shown no scruples in cohabiting with her in his younger days. This is unheard of in any other place outside of the South, and it may interest you to know that in investigating the sexual life of probably a few thousand people I have never found a white man with the exception of the southern gentleman who by preference would have sexual relations with a colored woman. But in the South this is quite common even among the respectable men. Thus one often learns that many so-called gentlemen maintained colored mistresses and some of them even acknowledged their mixed offsprings.

Before leaving the subject of typical dreams I wish to touch briefly upon another class of dreams which we may consider more or less typical,—in which *the dreamer identifies himself with some animal*. The dreamer is here hidden under the animal, strange as that may seem. To give you a little more insight into the nature of this identification, I

wish to read to you first, the dream of a woman who identified herself with a dog, and secondly, a significant part of a very long dream of a patient who identified herself with a horse. The first dream runs as follows:

"Brownie is sick and we give him medicine or we think he has lived long enough, so we give him poison. Then we regret it and I ring up the veterinary. I wonder whether the poison is fatal, and as I think about it I realize that it is. 'It is hemlock,' I say to myself, 'and that is what they gave Socrates.' I am very much worried and I am relieved when the veterinary arrives and prescribes an emetic of mustard and hot water. My mother is there and she irritates me because, instead of helping, she only wrings her hands and cries."

The dreamer has had the dog for four years and is deeply attached to him. She is always with him, and never leaves him out of her sight. The dog is a quiet, sober animal and I frequently used to remark to her that "Brownie" appears very philosophical. Of late the patient continued to fear that he might die, and this, despite the fact that she consulted a veterinary who assured her that the dog had still four or five more years to live. In the course of the analysis the dreamer recalled a play in which a girl attempts suicide: as soon as she has taken the poison she begins to cry for help, some one appears on the scene and administers hot water and mustard as an antidote. I would have you mark that these are the very medications that the physician prescribed for the dog. She also recalls that on the day previous to the dream she asked a girl at the canteen for something to eat and was told that she could only have a "dog with mustard." The analysis also revealed that she had been very depressed of late and had thought seriously of suicide. In time she began to be concerned over the dog, perhaps he might die, she thought,—she thus began to detach some of her own

anxiety from her own person to the animal. But she is like the woman in the play who took the poison and straightway called for help: she really does not wish to die. There are so many people who merely like to play with the idea of suicide, because it offers them some form of emotional outlet. In the dream the patient is relieved because the veterinary gives the dog mustard and hot water, thus saving his life. The dream thus realizes her wish to live. That part of the dream which speaks about her being irritated by her mother refers to the friction existing between the patient and her mother. Whenever the mother annoyed her she would play sick. The parent in her great excitement would then send for the doctor who would prescribe bromide. In the dream we see the patient picturing herself dead only to revenge herself on her mother. And the interesting thing to observe is that this is all accomplished in the dream indirectly through the person of the dog Brownie.¹

This identification with animals is often real and profound, as the analysis of the following dream very definitely shows. The dreamer is a noted animal painter, a woman who has always loved animals. One of her greatest pleasures in life is to frolic about in her studio, walking on all fours in imitation of a pony. Her dream runs as follows:

"I am walking in a sort of side path from S. . . . Station on my way home. My skirt is up and I pass a hard stool like a horse. I look around and see a woman walking some little distance behind, there is perhaps a strip of something across her face, a veil covering one eye. I hope she doesn't see me and ridicule me. Again I pass a hard stool and turn around and hope the woman hasn't seen me. I am walking with some one, probably my father. I get into the road to drive a horse, possibly an ass. Mr. L. gives me the reins,

¹Cf. dream about the two cats fighting, another example of animal identification.

which are not at all reins, but a single strap attachment without bridle or a bit. I am driving: I seem to have stopped in the road with the horse, and the cart turned the other direction. I am adjusting the harness at the collar or something; there is a loose, sorrel mare which comes up; she is very beautiful, with a delicate head and nose, and slender limbs. She stands right up against my horse, cheek to cheek, as though to make friends with him or me. I slap her on the side of the nose but she insists upon standing there. I slap her again, and as I put my hand up toward her again she bites or attempts to bite. As I resist, I say, 'She bites.' She seems to have gone down under a bridge or subway. I want Mr. L. to keep her there while I get away with my horse over the bridge. There seems to be some difficulty. At last I go down to see how he is managing her, or to assist. She is now a young woman, pale and thin, and not in her right mind. Mr. L. is holding her by a string in her nose:—a piece of wire. I am afraid it will tear and I say so. She comes toward me with her face near mine and I am greatly frightened; she has a hairy lip and is much older. I awake in fright."

Mrs. K., the dreamer, is a married woman of twenty-six, who consulted me originally because she was nervous. As far as the outer world was concerned she seemed perfectly normal, her intimate friends never knew that there was anything troubling her. The outstanding factor in her psychic life is a condition that she had revealed to no one,—the fact that she hated to be a woman and always desired to be a man. This "masculine protest" as the feeling is designated is not as uncommon a mechanism as it may seem. The dream is most significant, for it actually reveals the very mainsprings of her whole psychic development and thus offers a remarkable analysis of her whole neurosis.

"Going from S. . . Station" refers to the place where

she used to live when a little girl. "Walking with her skirt up,"—to this it was most difficult for her to associate, because she is a very clean-minded woman. But it goes back to her unusual attachment to horses. At a very early age she evinced a tremendous interest in them, at the age of four or five years she always craved to be a horse, and identified first, her father and then herself with the horse. We can now begin to see the reason for the strange situation,—"My skirt is up and I pass a hard stool like a horse,"—it is plainly the result of her identification with a horse, it is an expression of her wish to be a horse. We may already see how profound and deep rooted is her identification. It is highly significant also that one of her symptoms is marked constipation from which she suffered for years. I am glad to say that since the analysis of this dream, the symptom has entirely disappeared.

The woman "walking some little distance behind" is her stepmother whom she describes as having been just, though critical toward her. In the dream the patient sees a "strip across her face, a veil covering one eye." This is a picture of Justice and she recalls a cartoon of Justice that she saw in one of the local newspapers. The woman became her stepmother when Mrs. K. was five years old and though she really treated her as a daughter, she has always remained the one person of whom the patient was extremely jealous: Mrs. K. could never forgive her father for marrying her.

Mr. L. is her brother who represents her ideal type of man, the type of man whom she would have liked to marry. The horse is really herself. "And possibly an ass,"—to this she associated her stepmother, thus identifying herself with the stepmother in order to be with her father. We see that she is desirous of taking the stepmother's place.

The analysis revealed also that every time the patient meets a man she experiences a morbid dread that he might "bridle

her and put a bit in her mouth;" it is for that reason that she craves to be a man, and protests against being a woman. This is the crux of her emotional difficulties. We know that at a certain period of her development almost every girl would like to be a boy. But when the girl reaches a certain age she begins to realize that she cannot do the things that boys do, she gradually adjusts herself to a girl's normal interests and occupations. This is as it should be. As women are biologically different from men, they must be brought up as women, and not as men; we should give them an education that fits them for womanhood. That is why it is so absolutely necessary to guard most carefully against bringing up a girl to be a tomboy. We must remember also to begin training the child to react normally very early, for it will be most difficult for him to give up an abnormal mode of reaction later in life, after it has become a second habit, so to speak.

The dreamer, then, always craved to be a man, though she was not at all homosexual; her cravings were perfectly normal. She married a man who loved her deeply, out of sheer pity for him, as she maintains. She does not treat him at all as a husband, for it is she herself that desires to be the man; she would be extremely jealous, for example, if he could shoot better than she. Out in the country she once observed him to do a high jump and when she found that she could not do it, she actually practised for days, until she learned it.

From very early childhood, the dreamer always identified herself with her father. She still imitates him practically in everything. The man was exceedingly fond of horses, and her own love of horses goes back to this source. When she was a little girl he always played horse with her, the practise continuing to as late as nine and ten. It was the little girl's greatest delight. She learned to neigh and romp like a horse.

The father, needless to say, fell right in the spirit of the game, encouraging the little girl, and offering her, as he thought, a source of great pleasure.

The mare coming up to her, "with a delicate head and nose and slender limbs," represents her ideal horse. The dreamer has studied and painted horses for years and knows considerably about them, she may be justly considered a second Rosa Bonheur. "She stands right up against my horse, cheek to cheek, etc.—I slap her on the side of the nose. . . .": this refers to a woman who is involved in an affair with a man whom she loves. And as we read on, we find that the mare actually turns out to be a woman.

From the above brief analysis we may readily see that the dreamer retained what we may call her whole infantile sexuality. Her father was to no small degree responsible for this. As nice as it may be to play horse with one's child, it is not quite the thing to do at the age of nine, ten or eleven, at this time it is altogether too infantile a pastime for father and child to engage in. How much better it would have been had he taken her out for a walk and indulged in some pleasure appropriate for a child of that age.

This identification with animals is not at all unusual. We have seen a notable example of it in the case of the young woman who accused herself of having drowned those pups. We saw how real and profound was the identification and the surprising extent to which it affected the young woman physically. We find this mechanism in a more glaring form among the insane. Long before I was a medical student, I remember observing at Blackwell's Island a patient who was known as "Johnny the Horse." He imagined that he was a horse, he always pulled a little cart after him, ran, galloped and behaved in every respect like a horse. I have heard that he continued in this condition until his death. Apropos of this you may recall the biblical story of Nebuchadnezzar, who

considered himself an animal when he became insane. Such cases are known to psychiatrists as *lycanthropia or delusions of transformation*. Such patients very often imagine themselves to be animals and imitate them in every possible way.

We observe a similar condition also in normal life. A great many people show a marked attachment to animals, and sometimes even take them as substitutes for children, when the latter are denied them. There is no objection to animals as pets provided the environment is suitable and the animals are well cared for. They offer a good outlet to grown ups and children. I recommend pets especially in the case of only children. I prefer dogs and birds, animals that can enter into rapport with the human being. I am against such pets as white rats or snakes, because instead of helping the individual to learn to give and take emotions more freely, they actually tend to isolate him; people as a rule either avoid a person who keeps such animals, or else regard him as a freak.

Pets have their purpose as an emotional outlet, and as such fall into the same category with collections; both offer modes of emotional expression. They are valuable, particularly in the case of an individual who lacks the opportunity to direct his affection normally toward children, family or friend.

It is a fundamental truth that the human being must have somebody, or something to love *all the time*: if he cannot direct his libido toward some human being, he directs it toward some animal or inanimate object, or sublimates it in some activity. It is well known that we become attached not only to a certain locality but to a certain home, a certain room, a certain bed, etc. I have actually had to treat a man because his chair in which he sat for thirty years was destroyed. The history of suicides shows very definitely that the individual was led to self-destruction because he had nobody and nothing to love. While there is love, there is

life, to paraphrase an old hackneyed saying. I know that some people will never commit suicide no matter in what distressing and harrowing circumstances they may find themselves, for an intimate study of their lives shows that they have some person or object to whom they are deeply attached. That is why we so often hear the well-known formula: "If not for my children,—if not for my love of art,—etc., etc., I would have been dead long ago." I have known a man who informed me that the only thing that keeps him from taking his life is his love for his pigeons. I am convinced that were it not for that, he would commit suicide. That is why abnormally attached lovers sometimes commit suicide when they are torn away from each other. When they are deprived of the love object they experience a terrible feeling of voidness, they feel that there is nothing left for them in the world, for the moment they cannot take their detached libido and fix it upon some other object, and they commit suicide. When I was abroad in 1905, I read about a couple in Paris who committed suicide because their cat was killed. While they were out driving, the animal jumped off the carriage and was killed. There is no doubt that they identified the cat with a child, and now that it was gone out of their life they felt that they had nothing more to live for.

It is such intimate relationships formed in early childhood between human beings and animals that make for this identification in both normal and abnormal mental life and lay the basis for the appearance of animals in dreams.

We have noted thus far some of the general principles of dream analysis and now I propose to be more concrete and give you some conception of the dream as it appears in its manifold associations and details. I hope to show you in this way how every detail in the dream is *manifoldly* determined, or *overdetermined*. I have chosen two dreams for

that purpose. The first of these reads as follows: "It was Easter Sunday and I had been commissioned to bring some buns to my aunts. On my way to their home I saw my uncle on the other side of the street; he was going in the opposite direction and carried under his arm a dog which I recognized as belonging to my aunts. A little further on I met Miss G., a social worker; she referred to Mr. X., to the effect that he was worth his weight in gold or some baser metal. When I reached the house of my aunts I found the dog there; apparently he had come back. My aunt complained that since uncle was so fond of the dog, she had consented to his taking him along, knowing that the animal would find his way back. The dog began to play with me. I put my hand in his mouth and said, 'Rover, don't hurt me!' My brother George was there and as he watched me playing with the dog, remarked: 'Make believe my little fellow wouldn't like a dog like that to play with.' At that, some one, I think it was the dog himself, spoke: 'Why there is a puppy here, Rover's puppy; Rover hasn't enough milk for it. The poor little thing needs human milk!' I wondered how Rover came to have a puppy, and my aunts explained that Rover had met another dog Coucho in the woods."

The Dream
Manifoldly
Determined

When the person is asked what caused him to have such a dream, he usually betrays utter ignorance at first, but upon a little reflection, soon recalls some incident of the day previous to the dream. Very often he may even reproduce some situation that happened long before the dream, *but it was invariably something of the day before the dream that starts the trend of the associations.* Accordingly the particular dreamer in question recalled that she had read on the previous day some notice about a preacher who was going to speak at a certain church that she usually attends on Easter day. That very day she also thought of her mother's family;

on Easter day she usually visits her aunts, and that is why it happened to be Easter day in the dream, though in reality it was by no means near the spring holiday. When she visits her aunts, she usually takes along buns; it is a sort of family custom. The uncle is the man who died a few years ago and whom she often used to meet in her aunts' home. He was very fond of the aunts, of whom, by the way, there were three, and also of their dog. The man was considered a capitalist and the dreamer states that he was quite wealthy when he died. As far back as the dreamer could remember, the aunts always had black dogs.

Miss G., the social worker whom she met, brought these associations: Yesterday the dreamer called on Mrs. B., the mother of her dead friend; the latter wanted her to call with her on Mr. X. mentioned in the dream, but the dreamer refused to do so. Mr. X. once had a love affair with the dreamer and she hoped he would marry her; but he married another woman, primarily for the latter's money. Very few people know about this old love affair and that is why she would not call on him with Mrs. B.

Miss G. spoke about Mr. X. in the dream and declared that he was worth his weight in gold or some baser metal. This brought forth the following story: The dreamer read a story in the evening newspaper the night before the dream about a negro, Cato Alexander by name, who died in New York in 1832. The account stated that this negro was originally a slave who had somehow bought his freedom and came to New York where he opened a tavern. Being an excellent cook, he became in time immensely rich. He had a daughter and to any white man who would marry her, he offered her weight in gold. According to the newspaper, his wish was never realized. Mr. X. has been very prosperous since he married, and is now "immensely rich." You see in the dream she speaks about his "worth" in terms of

"gold" or some "baser" metal, the adjective "baser" having in this connection a distinct and peculiar significance, because she hates him and always thinks of him as "that dog."

As for the dogs, she remembers that in walking to the subway station from her home, she saw a lady exercising three dogs. That reminds her of her aunts who also had three dogs. This recalled a letter that she read in the *New York Times* in which the writer discussed the question whether animals are guided by reason or instinct and concluded that dogs show considerable reasoning power; he cited the example of a dog who though taken a long distance away from his home, nevertheless found his way back, the case thus demonstrating a very complex form of reasoning on the part of the animal.

We have here already a great many associations which throw considerable light on the dream. In the first place, it is evident that Mr. X. is identified with the dog. The association about the negro who desired a white man to marry his daughter for her weight in gold is a bit of analogy to Mr. X. who married a woman for her money and whose whole aim in life was the acquisition of money. That is why he was referred to as being worth his weight in gold or some baser metal, and compared to a white man who would marry a negress for money.

Her brother, George, in the dream, she saw in church last on Easter Sunday, and she had occasion to think deeply about him on the day before the dream. The last time she met him, he spoke about Mr. X. and made some unkind, caustic remark about him; but she could only recall his saying that Mr. X. was "a sucker and a dog." Indeed, that was what the whole family thought of him.

As for having the dog talk,—that is not at all impossible in the dream. You may recall, I am sure, the acrimonious buffet of words between the two cats, to which I drew your

attention in another connection. In dreams, as in fables and mythology, inanimate and animate things know none of those limitations that they may possess in reality; note, for instance, that we have talking trees in Greek mythology.

To the dog's saying, "the poor little thing needs human milk, etc." she gave the following association: She holds a position of considerable importance, and was recently presented with a few liberty bonds for a charitable purpose by the manager; they were given to her with some ceremonial and in his speech he referred to the dreamer as being "full of the milk of human kindness." And that is exactly what Mr. X. needs; he is devoid of all these fine qualities, he is hard and mercenary, he needs a little of "the milk of human kindness."

Please note that the words spoken by the dog were almost an exact reproduction of the words heard before the dream. *A quotation in the dream is always based on something heard or read but it is usually modified by the dream to fit the situation in the dream.*

The dreamer now returns to her aunts who were four in number, three of whom are living. Their present dog is a male puppy and it is the third that they have owned. The former one, called Nellie, died of old age, and it was jocularly remarked in the family, that just like her mistress, she died a virgin; she was never allowed out of the house. Rover meeting Coucho in the woods recalled to her a story by John Burroughs that she had read in the newspaper; it dealt with the mating habits of bucks, how they try to get as many does as they possibly can, that they have a regular "harem." Now according to the dream the dog met in the woods another dog called Coucho; she knew of no such name, but she soon resolved it into couch and the French "coucher," to lie.

The dream represents the fulfillment of a wish. Despite

the fact that at present the dreamer consciously has absolutely no regard for Mr. X. and would have nothing to do with him, she nevertheless was in love with him in the past and would have married him, had he so desired; consciously, she entertains no such hope now, but we still see traces of this old attachment in the unconscious. He comes back, as we see in the dream, though he is treated rather roughly and unsparingly; he lacks all the finer qualities; he is base and despicable,—a very dog,—a man who would marry even a negress for money. He is carried by the uncle, because the latter put him on his feet financially and helped him in every way to become successful; he is carried in the opposite direction, or in other words, to her home. For indeed, the uncle hoped that by helping him, Mr. X. would marry his niece; he assisted him because he thought that Mr. X.'s reluctance to marry her was largely, if not entirely, due to economic and financial drawbacks.

How did this dream come about? Its main determinant was the visit the day before to Mrs. B. who, not knowing what had passed between Mr. X. and the dreamer, suggested innocently that they call on him and his wife. Mrs. B. even remarked, "It's too bad you didn't care to marry him." The dreamer said nothing in reply, but this undoubtedly stimulated many emotionally accentuated ideas. We have this visit, then, which consciously was just a disagreeable episode; unconsciously, in the dream, it revived the whole past by taking all the associations that were fresh in her mind, particularly the story about the negro and his daughter whose dowry was to be her weight in gold. "Mr. X. is worth his weight in gold, or some baser metal," we learn in the dream, an indirect comparison, of course, between him and the man who was to marry the negro woman. The unconscious repressed wish still lingers there, and the uncle, who is now dead, and who in the past tried to have

Mr. X. marry his niece by aiding him financially, is carrying him back to her home. Reading also on the same day about the mating instincts of bucks, she unconsciously thought of what Mr. X. had insinuated, when he broke to her the news of his engagement, namely, that that ought not make any difference in their relationships. You see here the indirect analogy to the idea of the "harem." Thus, then, quite unconsciously, because of these episodes that touched certain analogous situations which in reality were very imperfect comparisons, the dream was formed. We may readily see that when she went to sleep, she thought again of her conversation with Mrs. B. and about the significant remarks that the latter had made. But she could not consciously dwell on the situation and pushed it out of consciousness. If she had allowed herself to think of it, and all the reminiscences of her sad experiences with Mr. X. she would not have fallen asleep; so she crowded out, as it were, all thought of him from her mind and all those episodes of the day, particularly those which showed an erotic accent, were immediately taken up and woven into the dream, for they fitted in with the present situation and could thus realize the wish.

You can now the more readily see what we mean when we say that there are two streams to every dream. The first one is always in conflict with the second; an individual may desire something, but as it is impossible to realize, either because it is not permitted or because it is unattainable, there immediately ensues a sort of conflict in which the mind takes it up and with a few modifications finally realizes it. The modifications are entirely determined by what we call the *psychic censor* which always stands between these two streams. Instead of allowing the original wish to be realized in its pure form, the psychic censor modifies it so that you can realize it even in the unconscious without shocking your other self. You remember the dream about Venus and Apollo; it would

have been impossible with the dreamer's psychic make-up; so that both characters had to be invested, as it were, with all sorts of disguises. Here, instead of consciously thinking of the mating instincts of bucks, and dwelling openly on the sex question and everything appertaining to it, there was a marked repression and you have only a mere allusion to the situation. We learn merely that the dog, Rover, went into the woods, where he met another dog by the peculiar name of "Coucho;" we thus see in what an ingenious way the essential idea is concealed.

We must bear in mind that in analyzing the dream it is necessary to ask the dreamer: "What do the elements in the dream recall? What associations do they arouse in your mind?" If the element is an apple, for instance, and the person in question draws it in the shape of a heart, and gives you half a dozen associations that very definitely refer to affairs of the heart and temptation, then the apple can stand for that group of ideas and that only; it can represent no other, for it arouses in the mind only those associations that refer to love and temptation. In each person, of course, certain elements recall certain associations and depending upon the nature of the individual's psychic life, you have this or that meaning. But when the associations continually revolve about an element in a certain definite way, then it can denote one thing and one thing only, it only points to some one definite and special fact. On the other hand, if the element apple should call forth in the same person's mind, associations referring not to love but to taste, such as "sour" and the like, then it would undoubtedly have an altogether different significance. In other words, we cannot categorically declare that an element denotes just one thing and no other; its significance is to be determined only in the light of the situation in which it is found, that is, it must be interpreted through its latent content.

The second dream that I have chosen for our more or less detailed consideration, I analyzed with one of my patients, a married woman, who, upon my request, has written it out with fine accuracy. It runs as follows: "*A small tower or room at the corner of a house or barn in the country. A young woman, rather tall and slim, has been shut up in it. I am greatly distressed and immediately I (or my young woman companion or both) determine to break in and save her. We do so out of a sense of profound sympathy for the suffering (asphyxiation and smothering) that she is probably undergoing and with a feeling of deadly shrinking and repulsion from the horror of the sight. I say, to comfort and give us confidence: 'She is dead, she took poison.' We found indeed that she is dead, most parts of the body being dried and brittle like a mummy,—the head and the mouth,—the latter shaped a little like a turtle, a little like a mitre,—the mouth through which she breathed her last agony and drank the poison. The hands are broken off at the wrist and hang down from the square stone post or elevated portion in the small room. They are still soft, the flesh on them white as of a fresh corpse. The rest of the body is dismembered and thrown over this raised portion of the room.*"

The following are the associations that she gave me when she came to see me: "I awoke lying on my back with an uncomfortable feeling in my stomach, perhaps due to the very sandy soft clams I had eaten for supper. I had taken the day before a dose of cascara to get rid of a cold and catarrhal condition that was considerably aggravated by my trip to my brother in Chicago. I associate this with the poisoning in the dream. The asphyxiation may have been suggested by my being too warmly and heavily covered in bed or by my breathing somewhat under the bed clothes. (We thus see the determinant of the feeling of asphyxiation and smother-

ing). Then I heard Tommy (Joseph's young cat) mewling somewhere outside, as if in great distress. His mother who was sleeping on my bed ran out with her ears pricked to find out what was the matter. I slid into my overcoat and rubber boots, for it was raining heavily and went outside with the lantern. It was 3.30 a. m. Now the mother cat is wont to jump over between two piazza roofs every night to come in through the upper windows, but Tommy, though he can climb the wisteria, has not ventured this jump as yet. So it occurred to me that he might have tried it and failed and that I should find him hanging by one claw, perhaps afraid to drop. But this was not the case. I located him presently on the garret roof and got him down with the step ladder.

"This episode might have occasioned the dream; Tommy might have mewed and then stopped for a while before I awakened. The thought of going out to rescue a cat in distress that perhaps was entangled in wire, or perhaps was mad, was distinctly disagreeable." Here again as in the dream caused by the alarm clock to which I drew attention previously, we see that a stimulus, probably of very short duration, produced the whole dream. Added to this, there were the other significant factors: she was warmly covered and the room was stuffy; she is also suffering from some form of poisoning. The mewing of the cat, then, which undoubtedly brought up in the unconscious all the possibilities that might have really occurred, produced the dream of a mangled woman, smothered and poisoned. In accordance with our well known principle of dream analysis, she herself was the woman experiencing the terrible death. For no matter what the stimuli are, the dream is always egocentric; the individual himself is always taken as the psychic node in terms of which all the stimuli are elaborated.

She continued her associations thus: "I am reminded of

an incident a week or more ago when our neighbor who does chores for my aunt killed a large Rhode Island red cock for our Sunday dinner. It was left in the kitchen in a pail. I soon heard the colored girl calling my aunt, 'Miss Fanny, that rooster ain't dead!' My aunt who found the bird standing up and out of the pail went upstairs. I ran downstairs, trembling, and wrathy at her for leaving it in that condition, got my hatchet and finished the job. The cock's head had been horribly mangled but he was far from dead." Here strictly were all the elements of the scene she saw in the dream. I am sure you must see by this time how insignificant the manifest content of the dream is in comparison with the vast network of past associations, feelings and emotions that enter into the latent content. You may compare the manifest dream to a sunken steamer, you see only the very top of the mast, the great bulk of the vessel is submerged and it is only when you begin to pull at it that you find the whole mast.

"The Italian boy, John, appeared at the moment when I severed the cock's head and observed: 'Miss Fannie, he's sufferin'.' I told him we had a saying, 'To jump around like a hen with her head off!' But he maintained that when his father killed chickens, they were stark and did not move.

"This reminded me of my drowning the young cats in Edgewater, just before I left there." I would like you to note the many intimate details that the average person would deem too trifling to relate. And what an unheroic figure the person often presents! There is something ludicrous about the whole situation: here is this young woman taking cascara to purge her stomach, chopping off a rooster's head and drowning kittens. What mighty deeds! we smile to ourselves.

To return to the associations. "These incidents always made me think of the war and how out of proportion one's

distress at pain seems to be when it is visible and when one is responsible for its relief. . . . Now I think of the descriptions of mangled soldiers in 'Under Fire,' of the wild girl of the trenches that was lost and accidentally found,—a putrid corpse; now of Constance Beverly in *Marmion*—hence the mitre, because she was executed by the priests. The turtle mouth: because my father had a turtle for me in a wire cage in the brook when I was a child. During a freshet it became caught in the wire and was held there high and dry after the water went down. We did not visit it for a number of days and then my father released it." It is interesting to note the many and different elements that go to make up the picture of that woman in the dream. We say that each element is *overdetermined*, or *manifoldly determined*; there is no idea that is not determined by more than one association.

But to continue: "I felt my father's pity for the poor animal and was depressed myself. . . . This makes me think how it occurred to me last night that my husband would not have wakened or taken trouble for the kitten,—in nine cases out of ten,—yet I remembered that in the tenth case he would have been a fine hand at rescue work. . . .

"The girl is shut up as I felt my father confined me,—particularly mentally. . . . My female companion is my other self or the female in me, the compassionate, maternal part of me; there is also the ideal part of me that accomplishes the heroic and overcomes horror and fear, the masculine in me that is victorious in the dream. My only comfort is that the girl is dead, and suffering and distress over. . . .

"I am now thinking of the conversation I had with my brother's wife who recently went with him to the south. I asked her if our family there seemed to be expecting to go on 'peopling the woods of Tennessee.' (I have had three nephews born within the last two or three years). She

PSYCHOANALYSIS

spoke as though my sister and sister-in-law were worrying because they feared their children were coming too close together. I observed: 'Then they are following my stepmother in taking them as an unavoidable dispensation of providence. Such an attitude is indeed beyond my comprehension.'"

There now followed a discussion of birth control. . . . The dreamer spoke of the difficulties experienced by Mr. A., her married stepbrother, despite all the precautions that he had taken. . . . "I recall his wife's labor and the child's death,—the miscarriage,—and how most women of her type feel about the whole affair.

"And what would I do if I became pregnant again, if I were pregnant. . . ." Observe how personal the dream is, how it always returns to the dreamer's own problems, how the situation is always elaborated in terms of one's self, in terms of one's own inner problems and conflicts. "Is it worth while to run even the shadow of a risk when you do not want children? . . . Probably abstinence is best, but I for one become so torpid or so nervous when I practice it long. . . ." The meaning of the dream is now clear. It represents a hidden wish, to wit, not to be pregnant or in the event of pregnancy to have a miscarriage.

From the analysis of the above dreams, we may see how the psychic material always revolves around the ego and is elaborated in terms of the individual's inner strivings and desires, and how every element in the dream is *overdetermined* or *manifoldly determined*.

CHAPTER X

COMMON FORMS OF INSANITY

THUS far I have attempted to show you the mechanisms as we find them first in the normal and then in the abnormal, or more definitely, in the neurosis. I endeavored to make clear how we apply the Freudian psychology to every-day faulty actions, to wit, to dreams, to neurotic symptoms and other abnormal conditions. Beginning with this hour I wish to give you a brief survey of the most common forms of insanity.

The difference between a nervous disease and a mental disease is very marked; there is as vast a difference between them as there is, we might say, between an ordinary cold and tuberculosis. An insanity, a *Dementia Praecox* psychosis, is a deep-reaching mental disturbance. Without any further attempt at definition, for the psychosis is very difficult to define, we may consider an individual insane whose actions, whose general behavior, are foreign to his environments. The difference between a nervous condition and an insanity, then, should be sought in the degree and character of reaction toward the environment.

When we study one of the most common forms of insanity, dementia præcox, we find that it represents very definite characteristics. It was originally called by that name because it was supposed to be a dementia present in young people. As a matter of fact, it is neither a dementia nor is it confined always to young people, although probably 75 to 80 per cent. of the cases are between sixteen and thirty.

It was also designated by some authors as a mental disease of puberty, for it manifests itself in a great many cases at about that age. We may define the disease as a progressive, mental disturbance, its main characteristic being an emotional deterioration.

The outstanding characteristic of the *præcox* is his complete indifference to the outside world. Take, for instance, a concrete case,—that of a high school girl of about fifteen years of age. According to the history given to me by the mother she was perfectly well up to about five months ago, when she became "nervous:" she now sits around in the house insouciant and listless, does not care to dress, takes no interest in school or studies. When we investigate the case more closely we find that there were slight manifestations of the disease long before then, but that it was only since five months ago that the parents began to realize that the girl was not just lazy but actually sick. The average person does not realize usually the gravity of the condition until a report comes from school that Miss so-and-so absolutely neglects her work and is uninterested and indifferent. But it is a sure sign that there is danger ahead when a girl who has been apparently well suddenly becomes indifferent to the things that interest the average young woman of her age. The average girl likes to dress well, is very anxious to appear well in the eyes of others, feels badly when she does not get along in her studies. But the *præcoxes* do not care about these things.

When the *præcox* develops into the full condition he presents a rather typical picture. The main characteristic is, as I said, an emotional deterioration; there is absolutely no emotional reaction. One of the diagnostic points that I would point out to students in the hospital in the examination of such patients was to take a *præcox* and bid him put out his tongue, when I would get a long pin and say to the

students: "Now I am going to stick this through the patient's tongue." And I would pretend to do so. Ordinarily, even if the patient thinks that I am only joking, he withdraws his tongue, but the *præcox* sits quite unconcerned, with his tongue out. Indeed he would not object even if I were actually to try to stick the pin through his tongue. And similarly, light a match and thrust it before his eyes, and he will sit quiet and undisturbed, whereas any other person would close his eyes at once. You can singe a *præcox*'s eyebrows and he would not close his eyes. One author declares that you can shoot a cannon near him and he would not move. He is absolutely indifferent to the outside world.

Originally a great many physicians who were not acquainted with the deeper aspects of dementia *præcox* considered it a masturbatic insanity, and as a matter of fact, there are doctors to-day who still consider it as such. I may have told you previously, *masturbation does no mental or physical harm*. It is a very common practice and most of the authorities who have investigated the subject claim that it is found in 100 per cent. of people. In the case of the average normal boy or girl the act is performed usually under cover, in some hiding place. But when the young person becomes indifferent and begins to develop dementia *præcox*, he will have no scruples in masturbating anywhere, with the result that the parents often catch him in the act. They consider it a vicious habit and try to get the child to break it. Then probably three or four months or a year later when they are actually convinced that the person is insane they inform the doctor that they know only too well the cause of his condition: "he has abused himself." But this is far from the truth. All the cases that I have observed that were presumably due to masturbation were only cases of dementia *præcox*. From the very outset, there was a marked emo-

tional indifference, the feelings were dulled, and the patient would masturbate quite openly whenever the impulse moved him. It is because of this accidental relation between masturbation and dementia præcox that some old psychiatrists have described the disease as a form of masturbational insanity. There is no such disease.

Another characteristic of the præcox is that he pays no attention to any one; he absolutely refuses to do what you tell him, and if he does carry out what he was bidden to, he does so in a mechanical way. His handshake is another diagnostic point in these cases. The average person who takes and gives emotions freely gives you a healthy handshake, you feel that he is transmitting his feelings. If a dementia præcox is finally moved to give his hand, he does so mechanically, he extends it stiffly, barely touching the proffered hand.

In the advanced stage of the disease such patients sit in one place for weeks and months. I have observed some of them for as many as four or five years, every day they would resume their usual position and remain there, going through the same mannerisms. I have seen a man incessantly rub the top of his head, as he walked the floor, until he developed a very prominent tonsure there. Others will go about and use what we call "verbigerations," stereotyped expressions. They may start with a phrase such as "I don't want to do it," and continue to repeat it without end. When they do this every day for a year there are gradual elisions and only the person who had heard them first begin it can know what they are talking about. The same psychic process is seen not only in speech manifestations, but in various movements and actions, such as peculiarities in gait, writing, etc. Then, too, some of them show what we already referred to in another connection as "catatonic" characteristics, they assume rigid attitudes. I have seen a patient of

this type imitate the cross, standing in the same position and staring at the sun for hours and hours until he was forced in for fear of sun-stroke. In a similar manner they react toward food and other necessities of life. They gobble their food down as though they were starved to death; very often they take such big chunks that they choke to death. I have been called in a number of times to save such a patient from suffocation, but sometimes the physician arrives too late to save him. That is why in every dining-room in the insane asylum there are instruments always ready for just such an emergency.

The patients also have certain hallucinations and delusions by which they are constantly controlled. When we delve into their lives we find that these delusions and hallucinations are by no means as senseless and meaningless as the average person would suppose, that there is a cause for them. We find that the patient is living in a world of his own, experiencing over and over again some episode, living through some wish in a delusionary way. To get him out of himself for a little while, to gain entry into his little isolated world requires untold strength and endless patience.

When I was in the hospital for the insane at Zurich I observed the case of an American girl, born in Kentucky, who had been an inmate in the asylum for years. She had to be kept in bed because she would not keep herself clean. She would sit there in bed the live-long day with her head buried between her knees, her eyes closed, in a peculiarly rigid attitude. She had never talked since she came to the hospital. Occasionally she would say something quite unexpectedly but no one could find out what she was talking about. Professor Bleuler informed me of a patient whom he had had of that type, a catatonic dementia praecox. He decided once to see to what extent he could influence her to dress and get out of bed without resorting to force; he

wished to see to what extent suggestion could be utilized on her. To the average sane person suggestions can be readily made, but these patients are shut-in and practically inaccessible. Professor Bleuler told me that he talked to the patient for hours at end before she dressed and went where he desired. I decided to perform the same experiment upon this woman. I went into the ward one afternoon and talked until I was proverbially blue in the face. She finally looked up and I felt highly rewarded considering that she had not done that for years. I said to her: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself lying around like that? Dress and I'll take you for a walk." I had her dressed, brought to my office, and for two full days she behaved like any normal person. She revealed to me her whole story. I found that she was experiencing symbolically an episode that occurred at her home in Kentucky. From what I gathered, it would seem that she was reproducing a seduction. She imagined that the young man was there with her in the hospital, talking to her all the time, while she just listened. She talked nicely to me and behaved in a perfectly normal way. But I had enough experience by that time to know that it was too good to last. On the third day, as I was anxiously waiting for her to be brought in, I received a telephone to the effect that my patient had relapsed into her old condition, that she was faring just as badly as ever. I dare say if I had sufficient physical endurance to perform the experiment again, I might have aroused her again for a while.

Any marked emotional affect always tends to arouse such patients from their congealed state, to make them forget, as it were. We see this when they are operated. I observed a patient of this type in the Central Islip State Hospital who did not talk for almost five or six years. For two and a half years I had to feed him by means of a tube through the nostril, for he refused to eat. He looked cadaverous and

yellow, veritably like wax. One day we examined him and found that he was suffering from an internal inflammatory condition; we felt that it was advisable to operate. I administered the anæsthetic, and it was passing strange to hear him plead with me not to operate. To say the least I was quite pleased to hear his voice. When he came to himself from the ether, he behaved like any sane person in a general hospital, he asked me how he was, what his temperature was, etc. I remember going into the dining room and imparting the interesting news to some of my colleagues. "So and so is normal now." They looked at me in blank wonder. "He is normal like any one else," I repeated. They talked to him and normal indeed he was. "Look here, why did you act like a crazy fellow and give me all that trouble of feeding you—it is a disagreeable business," I said to him. He did not answer; he smiled. For three weeks he was in bed, recovering from the operation. I informed him that I would soon send him home, and he was pleased. But one morning I came and, to my profound disappointment found him there in the same old place, in the same posture, with his head down,—the same old inaccessible præcox. It was as though the few weeks were completely wiped out of his life. I have seen a number of such cases in which an affect made the patient react. In this particular case, the fear of death and the will to live made him forget his abnormal world. The moment, however, he felt well again, he withdrew into his old little world and would not come out.

Patients of this character are absolutely shut-in and their history reveals that they are always more or less so, they never mixed well with their fellows, they never showed any deep emotional rapport. There are many cases of the same type, though of course by no means as pronounced, who show bizarre expressions, who act peculiarly. No one can understand them, they are generally considered crazy. They

are of the dementia præcox type, but not fully developed. They may have an episode which clears up to a certain extent; its remnants remain, however, and continue to manifest themselves in the person's behavior. I know the case of a man, for instance, who as a boy was extremely precocious. He was far ahead of his class, he performed many an unusual feat. But the teachers were often surprised when of a sudden he would get up in the class and say something that no one understood. At the age of thirteen he left home and joined a troop of actors in England. Great things were predicted for him on the stage, but after a while, he ran off, tramped about for some time and then came to the United States where he worked at all sorts of jobs. Suddenly, he disappeared. One day when in a café, while discussing the subject of bravery and courage, some one remarked that "to commit suicide requires the higher form of cowardice." He vehemently denied that, and to prove his point shot himself in the head. He was taken to a hospital where he recovered. If I were to describe to you all that he had experienced by the time I saw him at twenty-eight, we would have a veritable Odyssey. But he never had any direct delusions, he had merely fleeting hallucinations and delusions upon which he acted rapidly. There is no question about his being a rather mild type of dementia præcox, mild in the sense of the depth of the symptoms.

The average case of dementia præcox dements, the patient forms his system and then settles down. Mr. N.'s case is typical. He had been ill for six to eight years; he was very hallucinatory and delusionary. He would leave his home and settle down for a time in some out of town hotel. I first saw him out in a southern city, I went over to him and called him by his name. He did not so much as glance at me, despite the unusual circumstance of hearing his name called in a totally strange city. I had to convince the doctors

there that the man was insane. I asked one of them to bump into him to see what he would do. The doctor was afraid to take the risk, for the patient was quite a husky fellow, and so I bumped into him myself. The man did not say a word, he walked on without paying me the slightest attention. The doctors could not understand how a man could stay there in a hotel for years, pay for his board and room regularly, and still be insane. But the hotel keeper declared that he saw all the while that there was something peculiar about the man: he would stay in his room practically all the time, wore the same suit all the time, the same hat, the same pair of shoes, came down to eat promptly at a certain time, and was most methodical in his habits. Such patients are orderly and regular to a point of nausea. Methodicalness is not necessarily a sign of dementia præcox, but we may well think of the disease when we see people who are so extremely methodical.

The next group of insanity with which I wish to acquaint you, the manic depressive group, is very widespread. It is designated by that name because, as we have already said, on a previous occasion, it runs in certain phases or cycles. Sometimes the patient is excited, exhilarated, restless, manic, and sometimes he is melancholy, retarded in thought and action,—depressed. Suddenly a wave of excitement lasting a few days, weeks, or months, usually two to six months, will come over the patient: the emotions run up and gradually down and remain normal for a period. There then may follow another similar wave. If you take the patient's history you will find that during a life of twenty to thirty years he may have had fifteen attacks or more. Sometimes this attack of excitement is followed by an attack of depression; the emotions go down, the patient feels downcast and depressed. Some pa-

Manic
Depressive
Insanity

tients run a different course. They may just begin with a depression, get over it and be a little exalted, just enough to feel well and exhilarated without being regarded as in any way abnormal, and they are perfectly well. Then probably a few years later there comes another depression, and so the case continues. When our knowledge of this group of insanity was rather slight, we designated this phase of the disease as a separate case. This state of depression and retardation was designated as melancholia, which literally means "black bile." The term came from the old Greeks who thought that a person who was depressed had liver trouble and that when he was purged, he became well. It is for this reason that physicians have used purging for such cases. This idea is almost entirely disregarded now.

One very serious danger in this phase of the disease, that is, in the depressive state, is that the patient may commit suicide. You will often read in the newspapers of a nervous breakdown followed by suicide; we are undoubtedly dealing here with a case of the depressive type of manic depressive insanity, for there are few other forms of mental disturbances that terminate in suicide. I do not think I am exaggerating when I assert that probably 85 to 90 per cent. of all suicides belong to the depressive type of this disease.

There are serious dangers also in the manic state of the disease. When the attack comes in a very mild form, that is, when the patient is just a little exhilarated and feels like one who has had a drink or two, he is liable to jump into all sorts of reckless ventures. I have seen women who married during such a state and were deeply disappointed when they became normal once more. I am convinced that many cases of marital unhappiness are due just to this fact, one or the other of the couple was in such an abnormal state at the time of marriage; when things subsided and became normal,

there was a mental upset, husband and wife could not agree. It is like marrying when in a state of intoxication ; unless you can continue drinking, matters cannot fare well. I might inform you that I have actually testified in one such case where the marriage was annulled on the ground that the man had had a number of manic attacks previous to the marriage, and we could say with more than a certain amount of probability that he was suffering from an attack at the time he married.

Another danger in this phase of the disease is that of exhaustion. In the extreme cases of excitement, the patient is constantly active ; it is necessary to give him the strongest kind of medications and sedatives to keep him quiet. If he is not confined, he very often continues to talk and move about so recklessly and vehemently that he simply develops some intercurrent disease and dies. It is remarkable how many of these cases are at large and taken for alcoholics. I have met them on the streets and in parks and on a few occasions have had them taken to the hospital. The casual onlooker observes them perform to his delight and amusement and regards them as alcoholics, but the trained observer usually can make the diagnosis in a minute or two.

The essential difference between the manic-depressive cases and dementia *præcox* is that the manic-depressive patient always recovers under general conditions and never shows any mental scar ; there is no intellectual disturbance. That is why a great many physicians would not designate the manic-depressive patient as a case of insanity, unless of course he is extreme and delusional ; they regard the disease as merely an emotional disturbance. But when the dementia *præcox* seemingly recovers from the first episode, he always shows to the trained observer the dementia *præcox* reaction, there is always left a mental scar.

There is one more form of insanity that I wish to touch upon, namely, paranoia. This is a chronic, progressive form **Paranoia** of insanity which is absolutely incurable. When you examine a paranoiac thoroughly you find that he always presented more or less definite characteristics, he always showed the type of mental make-up associated with the disease. But we usually do not see anything abnormal or maladjusted in his mode of reaction until he is thrown on his own resources or, generally speaking, until he has to come in actual contact with the environment. At the age of puberty we already begin to notice certain distinct peculiarities. First of all, the patient is a sort of quiet, reserved personality, an individual who takes no interest in the trivialities of life. The history from childhood shows that he never played like others, never made friends like others. He may have had perhaps some acquaintances but never a friend in whom he confided. The normal person is always drawn to some one in whom he can confide. Consciously or unconsciously he realizes that it is unhealthy to harbor secrets, for every secret contains something wrong or forbidden. But the paranoiac has never formed any lasting intimate friendship, he has never learned how to give and take emotions freely. He starts out in life with that all-too-serious attitude; the element of love which manifests itself in childhood in play and later on in friendship and sex either is not developed with him, or its normal development is retarded and it is turned inward upon himself. Upon reaching the period of puberty, therefore, when an emotional outlet is absolutely necessary, he finds himself in a critical position: an emotional wave of puberty comes on, and unable to place it properly, he begins to find fault with the environment. The young man may feel that he has not received the amount of attention or friendship that is properly due him. The young lady may complain that people are constantly pointing

at her in an insinuating way, or that she has been slighted in some way. The situation usually resolves itself into this: "people do not like me." Of course, emotions beget emotions, if you do not like others, others will not like you, if you want friends, you must show friendship. Emerson has put it very well: "Love and you shall be loved." The world is so full of people that no one will worry about an individual who does not come forward himself. The paranoid projects his own feelings to the outside world, and by an all too natural mode of reasoning, he finds that the fault lies not with him but with the outside world: "People do not like me"—and since no one likes to depreciate himself, the logical explanation at once suggests itself,—"because I am better than they are, therefore they do not like me." As a matter of fact that may be sometimes true, the person may be in a certain respect better than the people in his environment.

And so when the paranoid reaches an age when he would like to compete, he feels himself too weak or too worthy to do so and the result is that he is left to himself, his morbid ideas developing all the while more and more. Gradually he begins to elaborate who he is, he cannot admit, for instance, that he belongs to an ordinary plebeian family, he decides that he must be of better stock. Not long ago I observed a typical paranoid; he imagined that he was an illegitimate son of Louis XIV. His life history was extremely interesting. His father was about thirty years older than his mother, so that when the patient was a little boy the father was an old man. The normal relationship, then, such as one finds between father and son was here impossible, the discrepancy in age was too great. That is why the boy never developed a normal association with his companions. Besides, the father was unusually attached to the child and insisted on having the boy with him all the time.

Thus the patient grew up to be a morbid, introspective boy, and as he grew older, he gradually developed and elaborated his delusional system.

Paranoia turns out to reproduce a primitive condition, the individual, one might say, regresses to an atavistic state where he believes that no one is his friend. When we lived in caves, when we were Troglodytes, the human being would not dare to put out his head for fear lest his neighbors would kill him; like animals, everybody worked exclusively for himself, there was nothing in common, there was no sense of mutual interest. Gradually with the advance of civilization not only did we make peace with the inhabitants of the neighboring cave, but we got out of caves altogether and began to build houses. Now we can even sleep with our windows open and there is no danger. In other words, we are departing from all those conditions which existed in the most primordial state. It is therefore important to free the child's development of all such primitive tendencies and teach him to give and take emotions freely, for otherwise he is likely either to continue in a primitive state or not know how to place his emotions properly and become neurotic.

The outstanding mechanisms in the paranoiac are these: First, delusions of reference, by which we mean, falsely construing whatever occurs in his environment to refer to his own person. Talk with some one, it matters not about what, for example, and the paranoiac will insist that you are talking about him. He may hear a sermon in church and straightway refer it to himself by proving that the minister quoted a certain passage from the Bible with which he was only too well familiar. In time he begins to develop persecutory ideas, he begins to think that people are against him. Usually he chooses for his target some intimate person in the family. When he fixes on some one, when he actually finds a person whom he likes very much, the attachment

usually takes a most violent course for a while, when a violent process of disillusionment sets in: the new-found friend then becomes a traitor and is usually taken as the arch conspirator. Gradually the circle widens and widens, the conspiracy becomes more and more involved, at first, it may be only a brother-in-law or a classmate, later it is the whole world that is his enemy. It is remarkable how people of this type rationalize a situation. Ask one of them why he knows that detectives were following him from New York to Washington, and he declares: "When I registered, the clerk remarked to another clerk, 'Here he is.'" That was proof sufficient. I have seen a man who actually went around the world: he maintained that wherever he came, he saw detectives at his heels, heard voices and saw people watching him. Finally he decided to return to New York to give himself up. He did so, and was sent to the asylum. It took me a few days to take down his history. Only a paranoiac could have gone through all the privations that he had experienced. In the course of time the patient begins to reason why he is persecuted, he begins to elaborate just who he is. And when he finally becomes convinced that he is an emperor, or some other great personality he does not fail to act like one. If he believes himself to be Christ or a savior of some kind, he plays the appropriate rôle. To the average observer his reasoning is most bizarre, sometimes though, it is very ingenious.

There are all kinds of paranoiacs. The original ones are, of course, rare; by those I mean the patients whom you have to observe and study for a long time before you can actually decide that they are insane. They are often too clever to betray themselves; they realize that they are being examined and are very guarded. You have to be equally clever to get at the proof, you have to hit the right moment to find the clue to the system. It is remarkable how many paranoiacs are

taken to court on a writ of habeas corpus and discharged as sane. In one hospital for the insane that I visited last fall, it was interesting to observe that practically every one of the inmates had a legal paper drawn in accordance with the legal form, applying for a writ of habeas corpus. Many of the patients thus discharged later commit crimes and homicide. They are so clever that they often elude the average judge or jury; no one but an expert in mental diseases can see that they are insane. Thus, I had an interesting experience with a classmate of mine, a man of the typical paranoid character as I described it, a typical shut-in personality. When he was taken out on a writ of habeas corpus his mother, wife, brothers, principal of the school where he used to teach testified that he was very insane. No one had any interest whatsoever in keeping him in the asylum. His own relatives and friends, and at least half a dozen teachers from his school, who were all sorry for him, all testified to his peculiar actions. After a trial lasting ten days the jury was out about ten minutes and brought in a verdict that the patient was sane. To a jury of laymen, the man's defense seemed altogether plausible, and yet the patient was absolutely insane. The man was released and he might have killed many people and caused irreparable harm during the interval that elapsed between his discharge and his final commitment to the insane asylum.

When a case of this character reaches the newspapers, it is often held up to the public as a very fine example of how doctors kept an absolutely sane person in the asylum. We have seen a recent example of this deplorable condition in the case of the B. sisters. These two women are just as crazy as any two inmates of any State Hospital. They represent what we call a "folies à deux," a form of insanity which affects two people in the same family; sometimes I have seen it affect three people. It is significant

that though these sisters were discharged as insane to the custody of some one under bond, the newspapers vociferously continued to protest that here were two sisters who were kept in the asylum despite the fact that they were not insane. The fact of the matter is that the state hospitals are overcrowded; they have 25 per cent. more patients than they can accommodate; they are only too pleased to be able to discharge patients. The State Hospital in question at that very time actually had a campaign requesting relatives and friends to relieve them of those patients whom they considered well enough to get along at home. On the other hand, the doctors are in duty bound not to discharge patients who are considered dangerous; how can they discharge patients who are distinctly anti-social, who feel that the whole world is conspiring against them? As for those folk that imagine that doctors take malicious pleasure in keeping people in the insane asylum or profit by the patient's confinement, they should be reminded that the physician receives a stipulated salary whether he has one patient or fifty, and that far from taking pleasure in keeping him confined, it is in his interest to see him discharged. In the old days there was the prevailing notion that the patients were killed or poisoned in the asylum; to-day we are doing our utmost to have the lay world realize that the insane are regarded and treated as sick people, to be discharged as soon as they are well. Another difficulty is that the lay person usually considers a person insane only when he stands on his head and yells nonsense; he considers him perfectly normal if he answers questions and talks more or less connectedly and intelligently, as for instance, in cases of paranoia. We have been trying for years to have the lay public realize the true facts of the matter. But when a case such as that of the B. sisters is read in the newspapers, all the old stupid prejudices are revived once more. Untold harm is done thereby.

Before leaving the subject of paranoia I wish to read to you parts of the history of a paranoiac. I am sure that it ought to prove instructive for, in the first place, it will show you more or less concretely the progress of the disease, how the patient gradually becomes more and more detached from reality, and secondly, what an important part the sex element plays in all such mental disturbances, the patient's history showing a distinct maladjustment in his love affair. The patient is a man 36 years of age, who at my request wrote out the history himself.

"Bringing up strict, with religious atmosphere, not allowed to play with other children. Were of a somewhat 'sissy type,' but fairly good scholars. Father not at all nervous, but religious and rather strict. Mother extremely nervous. Favors one twin, not myself, possibly because she is interested in medicine, and he wants to become a doctor.

"First vivid impression, quite young, four or five years, used to undress after bathing with brother and sister two years older. Sneaking curiosity as to secondary sexual characteristics of sister, looking at her with pleasure, when unperceived. Remember remark of aunt to my mother, 'too old to dress in same room together with sister.' This roused a sense of guilt as to sex, which is still subconsciously retained. My brother remembers also an experience in the bathroom with my sister, each one of the three showing parts to other. At the age of six or seven vivid remembrance of homosexual experience. About this time experience with the genital, it had to be treated."

He then cites a number of experiences. He dwells at length on his homosexuality which he practiced with his brother and which consisted simply in masturbation. He says:

"We kept that up until six or eight years of age, when we realized its import. I remember arguing with myself

'This cannot be wrong, because it gives pleasure without pain or wrong consequences.' Later the practice was stopped and I found an intense nervous reaction in looking through cracks of doors at my sister undressing. At school had faint 'crushes' on boys. At college had a 'crush' on a man two years ahead. No sex impressions, but a desire to be of some service to him, liked to be near him."

Here he gives a great many experiences of that type at the age of 22 or 23 years. Speaking about women he says, "Have only been in love once. The girl was a friend of my sister's, my older sister, the one now in a sanitarium. This sister had 'crushes' on girl friends and teachers, it ended in an infatuation, abnormal girl, subjects to attack of insanity. This girl friend has since married and has children. She was normal, but had led a rather repressed sex life, she was a 'nice' girl. I remember that I imagined myself to fall in love with her in this way. She was a twin of two sisters. Had met them when about 16 or 17 years old. They appreciated us and we liked them very much. One time driving home from a theater party, I noticed her holding hands with my sister. She had a 'crush' on my sister, as other young college girls did. There was nothing wrong in this relationship between the two. I was in a rather soft mood, and I aspired to deserve the same affection as my sister received. 'If she would only hold my hand like that.' And I made up my mind that I was in love with her. There was no sexual attraction. It was a rather sublimated emotion that I felt towards her. Afterwards I met her in the subway with my brother. She sat down and I sat down beside her. I think she would rather have had my brother, I had the same rather soft, sublimated, tender emotion at that time, but I was nervous and excited and my heart beat very fast. Later my brother and I were asked out to her home over the week end. Hearing that, I became nervous and excited at

the idea of seeing her. The whole thing was in my mind. However, there was no sex feeling. I was inwardly restless, but outwardly I was rather self-possessed, while out there. I slept little and felt as if I had fever. I remember walking with her and my brother, and running races also, in which I made a great effort to shine. I tried to talk to her, but her attitude was favorable towards my brother who liked her in an impersonal way. She did not have any strikingly emphasized secondary characteristics of her sex, which was rather the reason I liked her." What he means is that she did not look like a big woman, but was more of a boyish type.

"I remember sitting indoors, on a sofa, and her inviting me to sit beside her as in the subway. At that time I felt that to do so would be dishonest, since she had too much money for me to be happily married to her. My thoughts were socialistic at that time. Yet I had an impulse to do so, and I loved her in that way. I did not see her again, but did not forget her at all, always hoping to see her by accident. One time I actually got my nerve to call, but she was out."

You can see thus far what difficulty this boy had in adjusting himself to his love life.

"Another reason I did not press my suit was that I had heard that another man was violently in love with her. Instead of pressing my suit, I felt no jealousy, as I ought to, but argued that if he was madly in love with her, as he was, and I only in a very spiritual way, I could yield better than he. She married a third man and it was a great blow to me. My emotion was thus always repressed, and as I appeared self-possessed no one realized it, but altogether I was very much perturbed. I had pneumonia a year afterwards, being in a rundown condition. I had two trained nurses but repressed any sex feeling because it would not be sincere. I enjoyed talking to them and was interested in their

ideas. I have always clung to the ideal which this girl seemed to fit. I transferred my interest to my studies, and had no friends.

"All this occurred while this homosexual practice was being carried on between my brother and myself. The next incident was that up at a certain lake my brother met a girl towards whom he had much the same feeling in a more transient phase. This period marked the end of our homosexual practice. We were really ignorant of its real import. Altogether we vaguely realized it was wrong. I felt a slight attraction towards this girl, who was beautiful, but rather stood apart, and let my brother do the talking. This time the girl appeared to discourage my brother, and since then I have called on her several times.

"After going through college and beginning the senior part of law, just before examination time, my sister, who had been long ailing, suddenly became sick and had to be taken to the hospital." He enters at length into this matter.

"During college and professional school I had formed the habit of watching girls undress by means of field glasses. I did this, sometimes masturbating through an excited imagination. Toward the servants I had no sex feeling, I thought little of sex except with regard to this field glass habit, which I carried on at intervals. I kept this up 'til last fall."

"After trying to get a job in vain last fall, (the war had affected the situation somewhat) at my brother's suggestion I went to Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore. I spent two weeks sight seeing, then took a laboratory course. I made efforts to take an interest in girls, flirting with them in street cars. Baltimore is a small city, and some of the girls flirt very easily. I went to the Lyric Theatre, where the fashionable concerts and plays were given. I lived in a hotel, but did not meet any women at all, except at Uni-

versity classes. I was interested in the Ph. D. courses, and was thinking of taking a degree. I heard that two of the Professors at the school were leaders in Baltimore society. Desiring to take for once a real interest in girls, and hoping to meet one I could fall in love with, I made up my mind to speak to them. I went to Professor B. and told him that there was a case of insanity in the family and gave the impression that it had to do with sex, and also that I would like to get into Baltimore society. He was very nice to me, and when I asked to be introduced to some girls, he said that he would see about it. Apparently I did not show the proper sex interest, for when I next went to him, he said, that the roundabout way was best, and also said, 'Go with normal men first,' and smiled, implying sex experience is necessary. He told me to join the Johns Hopkins Club, which I did. At this time I changed my place from the Hotel to a boarding house, because it was cheaper, and the food was better. I remember one story told in my hearing at the club." And then the patient relates some sort of pun which I never could make out.

"The second time upon my return from a game, I had a queer experience. I was standing in front of the waiting station, flirting a bit with the girls who passed with 'middies,' when there came out two middies with girls and a chaperon, evidently their mother. One middy carried a suit case, and as I passed one of the girls nudged me with the case as it brushed by me. I felt an interest in these girls but did not look them over. The mother was evidently a very fine lady and they were fashionably dressed. The light haired one was rather good looking I thought at the time. The other one was dark and rather peculiar looking and had 'sad' eyes. This one sat alone, the mother and the light haired one on the other side of the car, one seat back. The rest of the car consisted largely of a rather tough crowd. I sat in the rear seat,

but sufficiently near to keep an eye on the one who nudged me. The peculiar looking one seemed to be the object of attention especially to one man, and the light haired one evidently became much worried, and looked back at me continually. At last, this was before I saw this Professor B. I thought I should not meet any girls on account of insanity in the family. I debated whether to intervene or not. I finally decided upon watchful waiting, but the distress of the three women increased, until finally I was about to get up and look at the man, who got up himself and walked into the smoker."

This idea that the girl nudged him was of course only imaginary, as well as the situation regarding the man.

"This produced of course a great sensation with the girls. I had apparently made a hit. They smiled their thanks to me, and I smiled back. Then they took off their hats and wraps, and tried to flirt with me, arranging their hair. But I saw no reason for picking them up, arguing that nice girls should not be treated that way. When the electric car stopped to change for Washington, they got out. The light-haired girl's expression was peculiar, as if she had been hard hit. The mother smiled at me rather scornfully, as if to say, 'You'll find out who we are, don't worry,' and seemed half angry at my attitude. I tried to convey that I would have liked to meet them, but circumstances did not permit. I later remembered that girl on account of the incident and rather idealized her, and thought that she must be in Washington society.

"Evidently in the South it is the custom when one person wants to meet another, and for some reason cannot, to bring them together at a play or concert. Anyway I saw shortly afterwards both girls and picked them out by recognizing them among a crowded audience. The first girl was a girl of German descent, from the remarks that I heard at my

boarding house, which evidently was a secret, for on leaving for the Alumni meeting at X. they assured me that Baltimore was Germania, with great emphasis. These remarks were made while discussing nationality. I compared this girl with the one I idealized and found I did not care for her.

"A week later I went to a ball game and felt a sort of excitement in my arm. People left hurriedly and there was a sort of excitement of expectancy. A girl sitting next to me looked all around the bleachers, as if I was to do the same thing as all the others. Finally four or five girls came, and the men behind me began to patter with their feet, as if I was to walk around. I did so and by careful scrutiny was able to locate my Washington friend. Under cold daylight, she seemed a different girl, I had seen her at 6 o'clock, and yet she had the same features and hair. She laughed at me, and encrouched her shoulders over as if to call me down from my high horse. After looking her over carefully I returned to my former seat. A man seated nearby, made this remark, 'Well, well, well,' evidently somewhat surprised at my lack of gallantry. Before this and after this incident, people began to look towards Washington when I passed them. I considered this a Southern custom, made to help along matrimony. And, after this the ball game continued and also they began to turn their heads and indicate unclean finger nails. After a particularly aggravating display of these signs by a rather fashionable party, one of them said, apparently to me, 'This is your last chance.' A lady at the ball game, several times touched her mouth significantly, and then stuck her fingers in her glove of the other hand, as if to show what to think of, kissing and the sexual act when I looked at girls, or what to do to be acceptable to society."

You may thus see how nicely these symbolic actions are

shown. He interprets everything in his own way, working it out in conformity with his own delusional ideas.

He was to a lecture on physics, but to him it seemed full of hints for him. "Work out these values and then we will go on," which meant "I am to have sex experience, toil. My inexperience prevented me from getting there. After this I decided to come to New York, as there was nothing else to do in the social line, no one conforming with my ideal. I did so, and called on the girl of the B. L. socially, but did not get to know her sufficiently to make advances."

There is nothing unusual about this case when we bear in mind that it is a case of insanity. Its most noteworthy facts are as follows: First, it is evident that this young man has had an abnormal sexual life. There was a constant struggle between sensuousness and chastity until the patient became insane. He began with the autoerotic sexual outlet, masturbation, which he was very anxious to suppress. In this he succeeded for a time but soon returned to it. There then followed the homosexuality with his own brother and a few others. Finally he was confronted with the trying problem of adjusting himself to heterosexuality, his failure in this respect terminating in delusions. His whole delusional system was that people were observing him and making remarks about him, disparaging, insulting remarks, because he was unable to do his duty sexually; many girls were interested in him, but he was too slow and not man enough to respond to them. He believed that if he were sexually normal, the women would have liked him; he was not liked because he had had no experiences with them. When the patient was asked, therefore, why he did not go right ahead and have experiences with women, he replied that he could not, that he heard voices telling him that that would be wrong and immoral.

We could continue to speak about the extreme mental

PSYCHOANALYSIS

cases, the psychoses, for many an hour more, but I feel that what I have already told you should suffice to give you a general appreciation of the subject, at any rate as far as our purposes here are concerned. Before leaving the subject entirely I wish to make this one point, namely, that even in the so-called normal person there may be observed some of those traits that I have pointed out in those extreme mental disturbances. That is to say, besides people of the psycho-neurotic make-up, the hysterics, compulsive neurotics, etc., one meets in life also individuals who are distinctly of the paranoid or dementia praecox or manic type. A great many writers have thus come to the conclusion that when such individuals ever become insane, they always gravitate toward that form of insanity that is compatible with their personality. That is, when a person of the paranoid make-up becomes insane, he gravitates toward paranoia, a person of the dementia praecox type toward dementia praecox. Through careful observation and study of different individuals, particularly on the experimental basis afforded by the association test, we may readily see these types, for we find that individuals show certain definite types of reactions to stimuli.

CHAPTER XI

THE ONLY CHILD

THAT there is really only a difference of degree between the most abnormal and the so-called normal, and that the degree can be measured in terms of environment can readily be shown in cases where regardless of predisposition in constitution, the environment alone impresses a definite stamp on the individual. This can be readily seen in persons who have been subjected to a special environment. I am referring to the only child. The only child has a special reaction to the world which differs in every way from that of his cousin, let us say, who has sisters and brothers. We also find that the oldest son or daughter differs in every way from the youngest son or daughter.

The oldest son differs from the others because his position in his environment was such that he had to develop certain characteristic traits. For one thing, he was more aggressive than the others, because originally he was the only child in the home, when the second child came, though only a year later, he already had the advantage over his younger brother, the advantage of strength and knowledge. But usually there is more than the difference of a year. Moreover the parents constantly urge the older brother to take care of the younger boy. The result is that as time goes on there is the tendency for the oldest son of the family to assume leadership, so that when the father dies or is killed he becomes virtually the head of the family. We see here how the institution of the crown prince developed; it was found that

when the father died, the oldest son was more fit to rule than the others by virtue of his standing in the community right in his own home.

And so it is with the "only" or "favorite" child; he too occupies a special position in the home. Whether wilfully or not, parents have always pampered and spoiled the only child. When people love each other they usually enhance the love-object: to the man his lady-love is the most charming creature in the world, to the woman, her lover is the greatest man on earth. After they have married a process of disillusionment sets in; the most charming woman becomes an ordinary girl with all the weaknesses and shortcomings of her sex, and the greatest man an ordinary human being. But there is a compensation with the coming of the first child, the gap begins to be filled, there develops a community of interest between husband and wife. To the man there is a compensation in his little girl in whom he tries to realize all those ideals that he found in the woman when he first met her but which seemed to have gone after living intimately with her for some time. The little girl now occupies a special position in the home, the father has a special interest in her, and with no brother or sister to share her father's affection the result is that she becomes spoiled. In a state of nature, the male animal really takes no interest in the young. He leaves them as soon as they are independent enough to seek their own food. It is different with human beings, the marriage institution devolves upon us the duty of living together. Some compensation is necessary and wherever there is only one child, both parents turn to the child to fill the emotional gap formed because of the disillusionment due to the original enormous enhancement of the partner.

Another serious factor in the development of the only child is that he meets with no competition at home. Where there are three, four, or five children, as there normally

should be, there is constant conflict, they fight among each other and thus learn to adjust themselves to the struggle for existence. But take the little one who is kept in the home with no one to oppose its will, on the contrary, whose every wish is gratified and who is always guided and protected most jealously, who is master of all he surveys in the home, what a pitiable sight this weakly brat presents when put out into the world at the age of five or six! The poor thing is helpless. He does not know how to act, he distrusts everybody, he cannot get along with any one.

One of the most serious handicaps that the only child has to cope with is his abnormal attachment to the mother, what we call, his fixation upon the mother image. As we have said before, every parent puts her stamp, her image on the child. The child's first impulses of love are always directed to the parent, that is, a little boy's first sweetheart is always his own mother, her image is definitely imprinted upon his mind, so that forever afterwards the child is always guided by this image. The same relation exists between the girl and her father. At the age of prepubescence the children normally begin to tear themselves away from the parents; a little boy will no longer even like to be hugged and kissed by his mother, he will feel that it is not quite right, that it is terribly unmanly. He will begin to find other women with whom he will fall in love. The history taken from men often showed distinctly that at 8, 9, or 10 years of age they were madly in love. But the only child does not learn to detach his libido from the mother, always guarded, as he is by maternal affection. Though he is constantly guided by it in his selection, the child normally tears himself away from the mother image. But in the case of the only child, where the mother had the opportunity to imprint her image on the boy for a much longer time and in a considerably stronger way, the image of the mother becomes fixed so that in later life

he is always controlled by it, he cannot trust any one but his mother or some one resembling her. It is noteworthy that the woman whom the child first takes as a substitute for the mother is usually of about his mother's age. It is only as he grows older that he begins to be more and more interested in younger women. It is a common observation that the younger the man the older the woman that attracts him. But he behaves very differently, when he enters his second childhood; it seems then the other way around, the older the man, the younger the woman that attracts him. As age advances there seems to be a regression to the more or less infantile, so that it is not at all uncommon to find many old men seeking young girls. We see this condition in its abnormal form in cases of *senile dementia* where the old man in dotage actually attempts flirtations with young girls because of his mental deterioration. In normal cases, the man merely evinces a kindly and fatherly interest in the girl.

In transferring this early attachment from the mother to other women, the child is very often a source of much anguish to the parent. Many a mother sometimes has experienced a nervous breakdown when it became evident that the son was tearing himself away from her. It is hard to realize what struggles some women have even later when their sons finally choose a mate. They never find a single girl whom they approve of. We have here the reason for the mother-in-law theme. This condition exists everywhere, even among savages, and it is due to this one crucial fact, that the mother-in-law either loves her son to such an extent that she does not want any other woman to take him away from her and does not actually find a woman worthy enough of her boy, or living through her daughter's life she identifies herself with her and therefore tends to fall in love with her daughter's lover. It thus happens sometimes, that the daughter is actually jealous, and I have had many women

who have corroborated this from their own experience. Occasionally the press will report the case of a man who courted the daughter and married the mother, and vice versa. We have here essentially the same image and it is easy enough to transfer its influence from the one to the other.

The only child can do very little on his own initiative, but consciously or unconsciously depends largely upon the mother's influence. I remember once treating a patient, a last child,¹ who had a domineering mother. It seemed that he was never able to do anything without her. He came to New York to find employment, but could not make up his mind to accept a position, despite the fact that many splendid opportunities were offered him. He would come to me and we would weigh the situation pro and con. I saw no other reason for his indecision and procrastination than his inherent weakness to decide. Finally I discovered that his mother was wont to bid him do something in this manner: "Jack, if I tell you to do it, do it." One day he came to me with the same problem and I decided to resort to that magic formula. I said to him: "If I tell you to do it, do it." And surely enough, he replied: "Alright, Doctor."

The only child rarely marries, and if he does, his wife is not at all to be envied. As we pointed out, the average boy in a home of four or five children, where the mother has no time to gratify the child's ever-increasing emotional cravings, fixes as he grows older from one woman to another, seeking a substitute for the parent in the person of a teacher, nurse, hairdresser, etc. He transfers his emotions to every newcomer in the home. But the only child receives so much attention and love from the parent at home that he does not learn to direct his libido toward others, and as he grows older, his libido remains more or less fixed upon the

¹We must remember that the last child presents the same problem as the only child, particularly the last child who is removed from the other children by about three or four years.

parent. Occasionally nature asserts itself and a powerful stream of libido wells forth: he is drawn to some woman and may even go as far as becoming engaged to her. But difficulties soon arise. It is not at all uncommon for an only son to come to me on his wedding day imploring me to do something to stay the marriage. On such an occasion one man expressed to me the fear that perhaps he was suffering from appendicitis, perhaps, he felt, he should be sent to the hospital. I assured him that he had nothing of the sort, and he continued to persuade me, "I really feel a pain, doctor, maybe I have." I advised him not to marry the girl, I assured him that he would not be rendering her anything in the nature of a favor. But the family physician was terrified at my advice and the mother politely informed me that I was a vicious person. And so the poor fellow was led to the ceremony like the proverbial lamb to be slaughtered. Now divorce proceedings are going on. How much better would it be to have stopped the fiasco on the wedding, what trouble and mortification would have been saved. I have observed also men of this type suddenly seized with all manner of hysterical aches and pains when the time came for them to keep the appointment that they had made with some young lady: they are loathe to go. The average normal man is delighted to go out and meet women, play cards, flirt, love, and marry. But these folks are too weak. Only the other day one of these men remarked to me: "If I would not have it so nice at home, I would probably marry, but as it is I do not feel like it." He is of the race of only children and his mother guards him like the apple of her eye. That is the very expression the fond parent used when telling me about her "seven-footer" who is about 45 years old. When she learned that I advised her boy to marry, she became terribly alarmed and came to me at once and told me just what she thought of me. She felt that although he was strong and

healthy now, he still needed mother's care, for as a boy, he was delicate and weak and always had colds.

The only son generally continues to live in his own little sphere, quietly and apparently well, but with the death of the mother he often suffers a breakdown. I have reported the case of a man, the last child, a favorite son, though not an only son. He was really an only child, as there was a gap of about ten years between him and the other children; he was considered by all in the home to be the "kid" in the family. He grew up to be a "nice" man, graduated from college and became a lawyer. Meanwhile his mother was getting older and older. She was about 67 years old, and her chronic invalidism confined her to the house. One day it occurred to the young man that it was wrong for him to go downtown to the office, stay there all day and then go out socially at night: he felt that he ought to be more with his old mother. He decided to come home an hour earlier each day; soon he made it two hours and so he continued to leave the office earlier and earlier until he finally resigned from his position and stayed home all the time. The father was about eighty and the son hated him with a terrible hatred. He used to observe: "The only thing my old man does is torture my mother." Finally he resigned from his clubs and the regiment with which he used to go out drilling, and stayed at home to take care of his dear mother entirely. Presently he stopped shaving; he had no desire to leave the house; he neglected his person. The mother and the other members of the family protested against this, they felt there was something wrong. The young man maintained that the children were heartless to let the mother stay alone at home. They offered to stay with her, but he refused, he felt that his sister could not take the care of the poor woman that he did. His fond hope was that the father would soon die and he would be alone with his dear mother. He slept in

a room between hers and the father's because for years he was afraid that the latter might come in at night and disturb her, so concerned was he over her welfare. Soon the father died, and a few days later the mother. Her death precipitated the son's complete breakdown. He would go to her cemetery and remain there all day, he desired to commit suicide on her grave. He came home and had delusions of self-accusation. He charged himself with having shortened his mother's life: he cited any number of instances when he could have done things that would have saved her. He also blamed himself for the father's death and was mortified at his ill-treatment of him. In one word, he began to show glaring symptoms of dementia *præcox* which he had for years, but which no one, of course, recognized. Every one thought that his behavior was just an expression of extreme devotion. Such cases are not at all rare, though, of course, they are not all as extreme.

It has always been a source of much interest to me to note how many of the so-called confirmed bachelors marry after some serious illness, after they have been operated, let us say, for kidney trouble or appendicitis. And what is just as interesting is to observe that it is no one less than the nurse herself with whom the devoted son has fallen in love. I confess, before I knew very much about the psychology of the unconscious, I was a little surprised at these tricks of amor. Now I realize that these men find again the mother in the nurse, the woman who takes mother's untiring interest in them, administers hot applications to their bellies, and performs all manner of personal services for them. Of course, they rationalize their attachment as an expression of gratitude on their part, but fundamentally the affair cannot be regarded as anything other than an unconscious harping back to the mother's influence.

The only child may transfer very readily,—but very badly.

He quickly forms a strong attachment and just as quickly a strong dislike. This form of reaction can be observed even at an early age. I have here a letter that a father of an only daughter sent me, showing the typical mode of transference.¹ It was written by a very precocious girl of 11 to her father, who was out of town, after she had had two conferences with me:

"A wise and all powerful man has been interviewed, etc. At all times the soft pedal was in evidence and he gradually reminded me of Socrates. He was highly pleased when I informed him of my comparison. One more mortal has been added to my following list of ideals: Lincoln, ideal man; Bonaparte, warrior; Shakespeare, author; Caruso, singer; Pavlowa, dancer; Mrs. Vernon Castle, girl and big looker; Fred Stone, comedian; Prof. Brill, Doctor." But I regret to say that she was so utterly disillusioned in me after her third interview, that she would have nothing more to do with me. This is a typical example of quick transference, first in the positive and then in the negative direction. There was no more good reason for her strong aversion than for her comparing me to Socrates. The point merely was that at first I may have reminded her of her father by the part I played and she at once identified me with him. But on the second occasion, I could no longer fit in with her image, and I was at once struck off from her list of the great and elite. We see here a typical only child in

¹The term transference is very often misused by so-called psychoanalysts. They seem to think that a proper transference requires the patient to fall in love with the physician. This notion causes much harm and I have seen cases in which it has actually led to scandal, to say nothing of the fact that it renders the whole psychoanalytic treatment absurdly fruitless. Neither Freud nor his school ever advocated such an idiotic idea. The transference mechanism involves a giving and taking of hostile and affectionate emotions alike; it does not mean exclusively one or the other. Every individual's transference is always in terms of the sum total of his present reactions to the environments. To understand, therefore, the one, we must understand the other.

the literal sense of the word, she forms enormous likes to-day and just as enormous dislikes to-morrow.

From what I have said we must not infer that every only child is hopeless. If brought up properly he can turn out to be a very desirable citizen and may very often develop into a leader.¹ He has many desirable attributes which when used in the proper direction place him in the foremost ranks among men. It is instructive to note that what we pointed out regarding the development of the crown-prince institution applies also to such rulers as Presidents of republics who depend on the people for their election, or, in other words, that Presidents of republics are still only sons, oldest or favorites and though elected by the people have the same characteristics as those oldest sons who developed the crown-prince institution. This is actually borne out by facts. Washington, Adams, Madison, Jackson, Grant, Hayes, for instance, were the oldest sons; Monroe was an only son, and it is significant that we owe the Monroe Doctrine to him; so were Van Buren, Buchanan (and he was a bachelor!), and Johnson. Lincoln was the second, but really the only son; Roosevelt also, as you know, was the only son. Harrison, Tyler, Taylor were the third sons (and it is not surprising that these gentlemen do not stand out very conspicuously).

The only child has played a conspicuous part in various fields by reason of his aggressive qualities. It is noteworthy that the first advertiser in the modern sense of the word, was an only child. He was Kisela by name, and was born in Vienna. As he did not wish to be a merchant, he entered

¹ What I say about the only child holds true also of the oldest child, for in view of the importance of the impressions received during the first few years of life, an individual that has been the only boy or girl in the family during that important period will show a great many of the only child's prominent characteristics, though he may not show the latter's typical reaction.

upon a literary career, but his earnings from that source were so meager that he was compelled to live on the money that his parents had left him when they died. One evening while in the company of a group of young writers, some of the men began to poke fun at his apparent lack of success and fame in the literary world. He was deeply hurt and right there and then made a wager with one of the men who mocked him that within ten years his name would be famous all over Europe; no specification was made as to how he would do it. He was twenty-eight years old when he started a tour through Europe to carry out his intentions. He carried the simplest kind of paraphernalia, a knapsack and two cans of paint, one of white and one of red. Whenever he came to a mountain, he would climb up on its most prominent part and there in huge letters paint his name in either red or white paint as seemed most desirable under the circumstances. For six years he continued to do this until he suddenly died; the name of Kiselak became known to all travelers. Everybody wondered who this man could be, he began to be talked about far and wide. This is characteristic of the only child, he does not give up what he has set his mind to do.

I have investigated various activities in life to discover to what extent the only or the oldest child predominates in those activities. Among the great religious teachers, I find that Confucius and Paul the Apostle were the first born, Buddha was an only son, Brahm was the oldest child, William Penn was a first born and his mother's favorite. Cotton Mather was the first born in a family of ten. Martin Luther was a favorite, though not an only child. Bunyon was the oldest and favorite son, St. Francis was the first born and his mother's favorite. Among men of science, Kepler and Galileo were the oldest sons. Among educators and teachers, Pestalozzi, Bacon, Froebel and Erasmus were

the youngest in the family, Rousseau was the second and last child, but as his older brother ran away as a child and was lost, the noted author of *Emile* was really an only child. This is the briefest possible list, and is intended merely to be suggestive.

You may wonder why so many of the world's greatest teachers were the youngest children of the family. We should bear in mind that the youngest child also occupies a special position in the home. Because the oldest child is the first one to instruct the younger children he becomes especially fitted by his environment to teach. The youngest child, fathered and mothered, as he is constantly by the others, has his shortcomings pointed out to him so repeatedly that if he has any worth and virile qualities in him at all, he invariably turns out to be a teacher just to show his brothers and sisters that he can teach just as well as they. If they are of the proper stuff and are not utterly squelched by the others in the home, they turn out to be leaders themselves, and strange to say, many take to teaching.

To give you a general idea of the more or less characteristic early development of the only child, his relation to the parent, his place in the home, his later problems and conflicts, I can do no better than to read to you a dream together with its more or less fragmentary analysis given to me by one of my patients, an only son, suffering of what I diagnosed as a mixed neurosis. He is afraid to be out alone, to ride in subways and over bridges, etc.; he has also some obsessive thoughts of the compulsion neurotic type. I must also add that he is married and that he entered into matrimony only because he was afraid and found a protector in his wife. He would have remained single had he not found a woman whom he could trust. His dream runs as follows:

"I dreamed of going on the way to the apartment where I live. The sky then became very dark; a storm was ap-

proaching. There were many thunder sounds and some lightning. The people were all standing and looking towards the west, from which direction this peculiar storm seemed to be coming. Gradually it began to rain and storm, and at that time I was about at _____ St., and then it occurred to me that I had better go into my mother's apartment. I went to the house but decided not to go in. Then I wanted to go in, and so I kept on struggling and finally did not go in."

Here are some instructive facts that the analysis revealed: "I slept with my mother until the age of six or seven. My mother then had an illness of some duration. Then I slept with my father until the age of 12." It is noteworthy that in practically every case of this type the boy or girl slept with the parents until a very late age. I am glad to say that we do not find this practice in the average home, the child does not sleep with his mother or father at the age of six or seven. But it is usual in the cases of only children. Such a practice is distinctly harmful to the normal sexual development of the child, it interferes with his normal emotional development. Sleeping with the parents involves contact and thus produces a precociousness in the sex life; the child's emotions are abnormally stimulated. If we were savages there would be no harm in having a child sleep with the parents, because we would act as savages upon reaching maturity. But as civilized beings we behave differently upon reaching maturity; in other words, an individual may be old enough to indulge in all kinds of sexual practices, but he is not allowed or supposed to do so until he reaches a certain age.

The patient then continued to relate how unusually attached he was to his mother and grandmother when a boy of five or six. "I recall being told by my mother that when I went to school at the age of six, mother had to go with me and that it was only after a few days of staying at the school

that I could be induced to stay there alone. I cried and raised some little rumpus."

When I asked the patient what games he played when he was little, he informed me that he was fond of dolls up to the age of seven or eight. He remembered in particular one large doll which he dressed up like a little girl. This is significant, for it is well known that many effeminate men played with dolls when they were young children. Playing with dolls is essentially a feminine game. I have studied the question for a number of years and I feel that the only reason why dolls are liked by little girls is because they appeal to the feminine instinct, the desire for children. As Victor Hugo puts it, "A woman's last doll is her first child." A healthy boy will refuse to play with dolls; the normal boy always gravitates to games of the aggressive type. This is as it should be. Indeed, we should always encourage a boy to engage in those games that help to develop qualities of manhood. On the other hand, I have observed men who were not effeminate though they had played with dolls when they were children. These, however, showed the pernicious effects of the practice in some other way. Thus I recall at this moment the case of a big, strong fellow, an only son, brought up by his mother and aunt, his father having died when he was very young. I learned that the only type of woman that attracted him was the woman with yellow hair, of the doll type, and this despite the fact that his mother was not of that type. Analysis showed, however, that as a child he always played with dolls and had a particular attachment to a big doll with whom he slept and fondled for years.

From the fragmentary analysis I have thus far given you of the patient's case, you may readily see that the patient was predisposed to his neurosis, first, by the fact that he was an only child, and secondly, by the fact that his sex life was stimulated at too early an age. He had to repress conse-

quently very much more than the normal boy later on in life. As we have already learned, an unusual amount of repressed libido manifests itself in anxiety and it is this anxiety which is at the basis of his neurosis. In the dream we see him struggling: he really wants to return to his mother but finally decides not to. This is exactly his problem in actual life. Fortunately he made a good selection, but his wife is at the very most only a poor substitute to him for his mother. If the latter were strong enough to help him he never would have married the woman. He had to have some one take the place of his poor old debilitated mother. As a matter of fact, he is always seriously thinking whether he should not give up his profession and stay home with her until her death. In the dream he realizes his wish not to return to his mother. This followed our discussion on the subject, as a result of which the patient was beginning to gain more and more insight into his condition.

The intrinsic problem of the only child, his fixation upon the mother, has been noted in literature. I recall at this present moment a little conversation in Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" in which the author sums up the situation of the only son most admirably. Prof. Higgins, an only son, speaking with his mother:

"Higgins: I have picked up a girl.

"Mrs. H.: Does that mean that some girl has picked you up?

"Higgins: Not at all, I do not mean a love affair.

"Mrs. H.: What a pity!

"Higgins: Why?

"Mrs. H.: Will you never fall in love with any one under 45 years? When will you discover that there are some rather nice looking young women about?

"Higgins: I cannot be bothered with young ones. My

idea of a woman is some one as much like you as possible; some habits lie too deeply to be changed."

How well the author sums up the problem, it is absolutely true to type.

Just a few words before closing on prophylaxis. Of course, it would be best for the individual as well as the race that there should be no only children. However, when this cannot be avoided by virtue of ill health or death of one of the parents the child need not necessarily become neurotic and belong to any of the categories mentioned above. It all depends upon its subsequent bringing up.

When we read the history of only children we find that only those who have been brought up wrongly develop into abnormal beings, those who are not pampered and coddled have the same chances as other children. As classical examples we may mention Nero and Confucius, the former was a spoiled only child, while the latter was a well-bred only child. An only child should be made to associate with other children who will now teach him that he is not the only child in the world. This should begin at a very early age. I have seen many "nervous and wild" only children who were completely changed after a few weeks' attendance in a kindergarten or public school. But what is still more important is that only children should not be gorged with parental love. Parents should take care that such children should not develop an exaggerated idea of their own personality and think that they are the center of the universe. For individuals imbued with such paranoid ideas are bound to come into conflict with their fellow men.

The problem is more complicated when we come to prophylaxis in relation to psychosexuality and I regret that I am unable to enter here into a long discussion. I shall merely say that proper sex regulation does not necessarily imply repression and extermination of all sex feelings, and

that the requisite for perfect manhood and womanhood are all the impulses and desires that are normally common to men and women.

In conclusion I wish to say that the only child is a morbid product of our present social economic system. He is usually an offspring of wealthy parents who, having been themselves brought up in luxury and anxious that their children should share their fate, refuse to have more than one or two children. By their abnormal love they not only unfit the child for life's battle but prevent him from developing into normal manhood, thus producing sexual perverts and neurotics of all descriptions.

CHAPTER XII

FAIRY TALES AND ARTISTIC PRODUCTIONS

THE difficulties of adjustment as seen in the only child, which are mainly due to the fact that the individual cannot live in conformity to the principle of reality too often produce neuroses and psychoses. Whenever we study the life history of such a psychosis we find that the patient has been fitted, as it were, by his environment for the abnormal part he is to play. In brief, all cases amenable to examination show that long before the psychosis developed he has, as it were, been prepared for his delusions and hallucinations. The only child living alone has to imagine himself playing with a younger brother because he is in great need of human companionship; the last child being dominated and tyrannized by parents and older brothers and sisters perforce has to imagine himself a hero overcoming them all,—a Jack the Giant Killer. Or the sensitive predisposed child whose primitive impulses have not been properly adjusted must dispose the feelings emanating from them somehow in the form of fancies and dreams. Such processes of adjustment have given rise to a literature widely known as fairy tales.

Having their origin in an attempt at adjustment through the creation of an imaginary world after one's own heart, so to say, fairy tales are invariably expressions of the wish motive. The individual tries to supplement in the imagination what is denied him in reality. It makes no difference where the fairy tale comes from, whether from Iceland or India, it always shows the wish fulfillment tendency when

analyzed. Hearn's story of the "Nun in the Temple of Armida" will serve as a typical example of how the wish fancy motivates the fairy tale.

Oda is patiently waiting with her little boy for the return of her husband, who was for a long time in the service of his feudal lord. She is a very pious and devoted wife and in her anxious expectation she performed many strange ceremonial acts. She offered a miniature meal for her husband such as was offered to the Gods, and if steam was formed on the inside of the place which was covered, she was pleased because that was a sign that he was alive. She loved her little boy and occupied herself with him almost constantly. She went on pilgrimages to Daheyam Mountain with her little boy, where all were wont to go who were anxiously awaiting their beloved relatives. But Anid, her husband, died in a foreign land and shortly thereafter there followed the death of the little boy. After going through a very long period of depression she began to collect very small toys; she used to spread out little baby dresses on the lawn and talk to them and fondle them smilingly. This action brought on convulsive sobs. She then resorted to the rite of conjuring up the spirits of the deceased and received the following consoling message:

"Oh, mother, do not cry for my sake, it is not right to cry over the dead. For their silent way leads over the stream of tears and if mothers cry the flood rises high and the soul cannot rest and wanders restlessly to and fro." Since then she stopped crying but refused to marry and showed a liking for little things. Everything seemed too big for her. Her room, her chair, her bed were all too big for her. She made a little baby house and tried to live in places that were toylike. Her parents then advised her to become a nun in a tiny little temple with the smallest altar and Buddha images. She entered the small Temple of Armida

and spent her time in weaving very small chairs which, although too small for practical use, were bought by some who knew of her history. Her greatest pleasure was in the society of little children whom she would imitate in every respect. When she died a tiny tombstone was placed over her grave.¹

Here we can see that the mother identified herself with her little boy, trying to realize in this way her abnormal wish. We find this mechanism among primitive men, children, and normal and abnormal people alike. We know, for instance, how the savage will daub himself to resemble his god. The child, because his greatest desire is to be big, walks on stilts and dresses up like its elder. In our modern times we have spiritualism. People resort to the spiritualist in order to realize their wishes. It is a surprisingly easy matter to detect the whole fraud when we bear in mind that the medium relies entirely upon the suggestions of the audience. When he opens the séance, for instance, with "I see a child, it is looking for its mother," we may rest assured that there is bound to be in the audience a brooding and sorrowful woman who had lost her child and who will consequently react to this with apparently marked emotions; her reaction will be such as to tell the medium that he is on the right track. Our inspired friend now has a basis on which to proceed. His messages are not from the departed, they are merely wishes, which he has pieced together as best he could, from the suggestions that he has received from the audience. In the same way women wonder how the fortune teller could know that they are in love: they do not realize that they consulted him because of that very fact. In the final analysis, all such interests on the part of men and women may be reduced to the one fundamental fact,—that we always strive to realize our wishes.

¹Cf. Riklin: *Wunscherfüllung und Symbolikin Märchen Denticke*, Wien, 1908.

The tear motive found in the story of the Nun of Armida is seen in many other fairy tales. We find the following tale in Ludwig Beechstein's Fairy Book:

Three days and nights a mother cried at the sick bed of an only child, but it died. The mother was seized with terrible pain. She ate nothing and drank nothing for three more days, crying incessantly and calling for the child. Then the door opened noiselessly and the child stood before her. It was now a beautiful little angel and smiled at her ecstatically. In its hand it carried a little pitcher which was almost overflowing. The child spoke the following: "Oh dearest mother, cry no longer for me. Behold your tears which you shed for me are collected in this pitcher. Only one more tear and it will overflow and I'll have no rest in my grave and no peace in heaven. Please cry no more. I am an angel and have angels to play with." We see here the wish motive most admirably rationalized. The same theme is treated with slight variation by the Grimm brothers.

To grasp their deeper significance many fairy tales must be interpreted symbolically. Here is a typical example:

There was once a man who had three daughters. He was going to the market and asked his daughters what he should bring them home. The oldest daughter wanted a golden spinning wheel, the second daughter wanted a golden reel, and the youngest daughter, Oda, said, "Bring me that which will run under your wagon on your return from market." The father bought the two daughters the things they desired. On his way home he suddenly beheld a snake under the wagon. He caught it for his youngest daughter. He threw it in front of the gate and left it there for Oda. When she came out the snake began to talk to her, saying, "Oda dear, may I not come into the house?" And Oda said, "My father brought you to the door and now you wish to come in?" But she let the snake come in. When he entered

the house, he asked to go into her bedroom; then when Oda was getting into bed, he wished to be taken to bed. He then became transformed into a young prince, who could be redeemed only in this manner. From what we have already said about dream symbolism it is not hard to see the significance of this story. The snake very clearly represents the male elements, and we have here a simple sexual wish. It is noteworthy that we encounter this particular symbolism also in insanity. Thus one of my patients in a hospital imagined that a snake lived within her body, and one day she informed me that it was in her genital. We see here how well the symbolism is carried out.

Fairy tales representing essentially an abnormal gratification of the individual's inner strivings and wishes, it is not at all surprising to find that they are invariably products of shut-in, seclusive personalities, persons who never came in normal contact with other people, and who generally led an abnormal existence. Such individuals resorted to the fairy tale as a mode of emotional gratification. Thus Andersen did not see a single child up to the age of eleven or twelve. In fact, when he was placed in contact with children he could not get along with them. He confessed himself that he used to spin phantom children in his brain with whom he constantly played. This is not surprising, for if you take a child who has any desire at all to associate with others and keep him all to himself, he will invariably create some imaginative companion. Thus I have in mind the case of a young girl who continued to fancy that she had a little companion; she would buy various toys for it, save Christmas presents for it, and insist that mother buy an extra ticket for it when she was taken to the theater.

It is because this preformed mechanism of fancying exerts the most pernicious influence in the individual's later life, that I am so strongly opposed to fairy tales. Take the case

of a patient who broke down when the woman he was about to marry was shot. He was continually obsessed with fancies about her. He would find himself, for instance, unconsciously opening the door of his car to let her in, adding, "Hurry, dear, we have to get there in time." For many hours of the day he would actually engage in imaginary conversations with the woman whom he had lost. It is significant that analysis revealed that the man formed in early childhood a strong habit of fancying. Having learned in childhood to satisfy himself with phantoms, he now found it impossible to resign himself to the fact that she was dead, and lived with her in his imagination. There is no doubt at all that such a tendency to fancy in early childhood is detrimental to the individual's psychic development, for we cannot cope with an inexorably real world if we live in fancies.

There are quite a number of interesting fancies of grown-ups that I could cite to you, that may all be traced to the influence of an early strong tendency to fancy. I shall read a few:

The scene of this story was laid in the suburbs of one of the principal cities of the United States where families of means and education reside. E. S., who lived here, was a governess in the family of Mrs. L., and had such a pleasing personality that she attracted in rather an unusual way the friends of her employer. She was engaged to a rich Englishman who owned an estate. She would read extracts from his letters to her friends, and announced that he was coming to this country. Although Mrs. L. invited him to dine with her there was always the excuse of a previous plan preventing the visit. E. S. would describe to her employer the pleasures she enjoyed with him, and how he would take her to the train and they would talk until it came in. At last the date was set for her marriage to take place at the home of Mrs. L. Owing to the unusual romantic conditions, great interest was

evinced by her friends, who all helped with the making of her trousseau. Mrs. L.'s little daughter was to accompany her to Europe for a short visit. A short time before the wedding day word came from Mr. C. that certain conditions had arisen to prevent him from coming over, but he had made proper arrangements for the marriage to take place in his own home. Although this came as a great blow to the governess and her friends the plans were changed and accommodations secured on the steamer for the governess, child and rector. They went into the city to spend the night in a hotel because the steamer sailed in the morning. It was in the morning that she confessed that it was a fascinating story that she had woven in her brain. Her relatives were sent for and she was sent to a sanitarium.

There was a somewhat similar case reported in the newspapers some years ago of a woman who continued with her fancies to the supposed wedding day, when she received a telegram that the fiancé met with an accident in Chicago. She went to Chicago, bought a corpse and brought the dead body of her imaginary lover: it was the only way in which she could terminate the fancy.

I have known also personally the case of a young lady who would become seriously depressed and ill every time she heard of an engagement or some love-affair among the girls of her acquaintance. On a number of occasions she would actually go to the length of writing to the prospective groom informing him as matters of fact what she merely spun in her imagination. She would tell the young man, for instance, that his fiancée had been living with another man for such and such a time; she would give details such as the city in which the woman lived and the name under which she went. Of course she caused a good deal of mischief. In one such case, a young lady estranged fifteen couples, including her own sister. She always managed to secure data

which could be corroborated. Of course, when a man is jealous all he needs is the slightest suspicion to build up a powerful case.

Another pernicious result of fairy stories is that they lay the foundation for compulsive symptoms of obsessions. As you know, everything in fairy stories is done by threes, and I have seen many people who carried along this superstition with them through their lives. Thus my attention has recently been drawn to the case of a mine inspector who began to talk of things in multiples of three. He would get out 600 tons a day, 300 mine cars and 12 railroad cars; one day he told the shipping clerk that the mine would get out 900 tons, whereas it only put out the usual 500 tons. He applied, for instance, for three more motors and thirty new transportation men, he insisted that the mine was good for 600 mine cars a day and that in three weeks it would be the best mine in the state. This compulsive thinking in threes was carried over also to his home life. When his wife became pregnant, for example, he was sure she would have three children. Analysis showed definitely that the obsession went back directly to the influence of fairy tales.

I have reported the following dream of a woman: "*She saw three long neck bottles. One was almost broken to pieces, the second cracked and the third contained sparkling champagne.*" The dreamer was a widow of 42 years of age, who informed me that as far back as she remembers all her important affairs in life went by threes. Before her marriage she acted toward her suitors in the same way: she never expected very much of the first, regarded with greater favor the second, and expected to marry the third. Her husband had to propose three times before she would marry him. If she accidentally broke a dish, for instance, she had no rest until she broke two more, so that she accordingly always had on hand some discarded bottles which served that

purpose. In the light of her obsession the significance of the dream is evident. The three long necked bottles are symbolic of men. Her dead husband is represented by the broken bottle, the man who was her lover for years after her husband's death is represented by the cracked bottle, while the third one containing sparkling champagne is meant to represent the man who was paying her attention at the time of the dream. The champagne in the bottle is doubly determined; it symbolizes the quality of the man and is an allusion to alcoholism to which they were both addicted. Analysis revealed that this number-three ceremonial was determined by the fairy stories she used to hear and read since childhood, especially the following one which she consciously took as a model. It is the story of a princess whom her father had placed in a castle on top of a steep glass mountain. The knight who succeeded in reaching the top on his horse was to receive her in marriage. The youngest of three brothers finally reached the top of the mountain in the third attempt and married the princess.

Fairy tales are also very harmful to the normal psychic development because they are primitive and archaic modes of expression; and catering as they do, to the primitive impulse, they encourage primitive modes of thought and action in the individual. Upon analysis we find that they all practically fall into the categories that we find when we reduce sex to its various components or partial impulses. I have drawn your attention already to the components of sadism and masochism; there are also other components, such as the partial impulse to look, "sexual curiosity," as it is commonly designated, and the partial impulse to touch, both of which components we noted in discussing the tendency wit. Fairy tales are based upon these partial components, particularly upon the sadistic and masochistic impulses. They present a state of the most primitive type: the individual

either kills or is killed, he actually takes delight in producing horrors. They thus have the most pernicious influence upon the child, for they unfit him for reality by feeding his imagination on modes of reaction that are distinctly out of harmony with civilization.

Mr. N.'s case, which I have reported, may help you to see to what a surprising degree the individual may be influenced by fairy stories. The patient was considered most peculiar: he often carried a revolver with him, he yearned for those times when everybody carried the dirk and dagger and could kill when offended. He was fascinated by wild animals, especially the tiger who excited him to a marked degree. He spent much time in the menagerie in front of the tiger's cage, and when unobserved by the keeper, he would tease the animal in order to see him jump and hear him roar. . . . A fancy which often recurred to him was the following: "I am annoyed and angered by some one to such an extent that I run wild and bite everybody that comes in my way, until I bite my way into some person's body!"

Very soon after entering into the patient's psychic development I noticed that his symptoms were largely determined by fairy stories, fables, and myths. Thus, his sadism and other symptoms unmistakably showed an archaic setting. The associations to almost all his dreams showed how all his inner environments corresponded more to a world as described by Andersen, Grimm, Lang and others than to our present times. The following dream fragment with its associations will show this:

"On Fifth Ave. with a crowd of people looking at a tiger. Whenever the animal comes my way I fly up to the roof of a neighboring house." Associations: Flying recalled that as a child he often entertained many wishes to fly above the clouds, among the stars and planets. This recalled his insatiable interest in astronomy at the age of seven to eight

years. At about the same period or even earlier he was keenly interested in trees; he was very eager to know where the sap came from. The association then took him back to a still earlier period of his life when he was interested in the bodily functions and in childbirth. After he had been told that children grew in the mother, he decided that they must come out like a passage of the bowels. This caused him to take special interest in the openings of the body, such as the mouth, nose and anus. The interest in mysterious openings was later projected to the outer world, so that he was strongly attracted to caves. This unusual interest was facilitated by many fairy stories, especially the ones concerning the twelve princes who were called, One, Two, Three, Four, etc., to Twelve, who went down to the bowels of the earth and then became rabbits and burrowed their way up. From very early childhood the patient imagined himself flying and beheading monsters above the clouds, or penetrating to the center of the earth in the form of some wicked magician, all the time passing through the most harrowing scenes. By a process of condensation he fused ancient characters and episodes with persons and actions of reality, but all his fancies usually began with some god or demon-like myth and gradually descended to human beings.

As I went deeper and deeper into the analysis I became more and more impressed with the fact that all his associations were explained by some fairy tale or myth. Thus the flying was not only determined by flying fancies but recalled also the story of Perseus, who undertook an expedition against the Islands of the Gorgons.

There is no denying that this is a unique case; but, although I have not seen another psychoneurotic with such a pronounced archaic make-up, I have, nevertheless, observed many persons who showed the same mechanisms in a lesser degree. I have reported numerous cases that very clearly

show the direct harmful effects of sadistic and masochistic reading material in childhood. Wanke justly asks: "Of what benefit is it for the child to read fairy stories where there is so much about murder and killing, and where human life is treated in the most careless manner as if it amounted to nothing? What does the child gain by reading about criminal acts which bring no serious consequences on the person perpetrating them?"

Moreover, even those individuals who do not continue with the primitive impulses as far as sex is concerned, who show no algolagnia, remain bad dreamers all their life time, believing in the unreality of life, unable to appreciate the real value of hard work and persistent effort. Having been imbued in childhood with the omnipotence of the fairy book heroes, they wish to be like them, and later refuse, or find it difficult, to become plain citizens struggling for existence. Such individuals are constantly wishing for the unattainable that could only be gotten through some of the charms of fairyland, such as magic boots, invisible caps, Aladdin's Lamp, and so on. It is, therefore, no wonder that such persons are unhappy as adults and think themselves out of place among ordinary mortals.

That such an attitude of detachment from the actual facts of life is in conflict with the requirements of life and militates against success is not hard to see. No man has ever accomplished anything in life who was not a man of action. This holds true of all fields of endeavor, even of art and literature. Unless the artist or poet is no mere dreamer, he can hope to produce very little. Marshal Foch in his "Strategy of the War" sums up the situation very well when he says, "You can understand that when a man of ordinary capacity concentrates all his thoughts and studies upon a single object, and labors unceasingly to accomplish it, he stands a chance for success. Certain conditions are essential in order to be

a force in the world. A man must be objective and not subjective. A man of action must not waste time in dreams. Only facts count; you must stick to facts." And so every man who has made his mark in the world has had to learn to cope with facts, to meet reality face to face. The sooner, therefore, our boys and girls are freed from the influence of fairy tales the better. As for the fear expressed by some people that abolishing fairy tales will stifle and impoverish the imagination, let us remember that there is plenty of material for the imagination in nature and life with which the child can actually come in contact and from which he can derive wholesome pleasure and instruction at the same time.

From what we have seen of fairy tales we may say that they represent essentially distorted fancies emanating from archaic modes of thinking. The child with its infantile wishes and desires runs riot, as it were, in the realm of reality. Because it has not as yet learned to value the facts of time, space, and mortality, it operates with invisible caps, magic horses and other phantastic creations. As the individual grows older, however, reality becomes more burdensome and forces him to repress those archaic mechanisms. He then realizes that only through reality can he attain his wishes and desires, and sublimates those primitive impulses

Artistic Productions through the various forms of occupations which we shall discuss later. Here, I merely wish to touch more or less briefly upon a form of sublimation as found in the so-called artistic productions.

Every child is an artist in the making. When our little girl drew the picture of the little cart when she found she could not actually possess the desired toy, she made her first débüt into the artistic world. In this simple illustration we see at once the purpose that art fulfills: by its means one is

able to realize his inner strivings and desires. Similarly, when a premature thawing of the snow prevents a little girl from trying out her new sled, thus depriving her of her keenly expected pleasure, she produces a picture of children coasting and frolicking on the new fallen snow, which is declared by artists to be a fine artistic production. The drawing represented the desired condition and thus fulfilled the little girl's wish. Similarly, we may say that Pygmalion was in love with Galatea long before he fashioned her out of ivory and that it was the impulse to possess Galatea that caused the talented Pygmalion to chisel her out of ivory. The wish is father to the artistic production, and we may say that every artist is, as it were, a Pygmalion. In brief, the artistic production, like the dream and the symptom is a wish fulfillment emanating from unconscious sources. By virtue of his talent the artist can embody on canvas, or in relief or in sound those unattainable urgings which the average individual experiences also but is able to express only through the medium of dreams, day-dreams, fancies and lies. It is well known also that what we would consider impossibilities verging on the infantile or on insanity have been put into operation by individuals who were able to do so. For example, Nero's Golden Statue is an attempt at his personal deification, and it is significant that Alexander the Great was seriously thinking of making a statue of his own person out of the whole of Mount Athos.

As we tried to point out on another occasion, the difference between the artistic production and the other modes of wish fulfillment such as dreams, symptoms, lies, etc., may be said to lie in the fact that the latter are purely personal expressions having no interest whatsoever for the outside world, whereas the artistic production has a distinct social character and offers a source of pleasure and gratification to artist and audience alike. The symptom or dream is a distinct personal

outlet, but through the artistic production the audience becomes identified with the artist, as it were, and partakes of the original source of gratification.

Our conception of the artistic production as an expression of inner strivings and wishes is not altogether new, for we find it expressed in one form or another in ancient and modern literature alike. Thus, we at once think of Aristotle's famous theory of poetry and drama as a form of catharsis. In modern times, we have a noted representative of this same view in Goethe, who, as Pater says, "escaped from the stress of sentiments too strong for him, by making a book about them." The great poet's "*Werthers Leiden*" illustrates the point.

It is significant that even individuals who show no artistic talent in daily life suddenly display remarkable ability in such directions when they become insane. I have in my possession a remarkable collection of artistic creations in painting, sculpture and belles-lettres produced by individuals who were never known to possess any artistic talent and who, as far as I could investigate, never made any attempt to express themselves artistically. Thus I can mention a grocer who, in his insanity, wrote erotic poetry of considerable merit, and a cook who, in the same condition, produced embroideries which a number of artists, upon careful examination, pronounced as excellent productions of the Byzantine period. To be sure, a great many of the insane productions seem meaningless and phantastic on superficial examination, but to one acquainted with the patient's history, they are full of meaning and significance. The same holds true of the best masterpieces: to appreciate them fully it is often necessary to have a knowledge of the artist's inner conflicts and problems. In this respect, psychoanalytic study is particularly helpful, for it reveals to us the hidden sources of the artist's influence. Sufficient investigation has been done,

for instance, to enable us to say that Leonardo da Vinci's characteristic smile which one observes not only in the Mona Liza, but also in his Saint Ann, Saint Mary and John the Baptist, is in all probability a vague reminiscence of his mother's smile. In his interesting little book, on Leonardo da Vinci, Prof. Freud has thrown much light on the great artist's inner life and problems and those of you who are interested in the relation the great painter's work bears to his mother's influence, would do well to read it. This intimate relationship that we observe in this particular case between the artist's life and work is seen also in sculpture and belles-lettres. Some striking examples of this are "David Copperfield," which is a picture of Dickens' own life, Goethe's "Werthers Leiden," which describes some of the emotional difficulties experienced by the young author himself, etc.

But the difference between the insane and the sane production lies in the fact that most of the insane productions are expressions of desires which are distinctly egocentric. It is for that reason that the average person sees very little meaning in them. He is unable to put himself in rapport with them, as it were. On the other hand, when we look at a masterpiece made by an artist, we experience a definite feeling of esthetic pleasure. There is something familiar in the piece of sculpture, or painting or literary work which touches our own experiences. It seems that every great work of art has a universal appeal, and that is why perhaps the great masters, like Shakespeare, have no limited audience, but are enjoyed to a greater or less degree, depending on the individual, by all classes of people. In other words, we may say that the insane production is usually autoerotic, it is of a self-sufficient, self-satisfying, or infantile character, while the artistic production belongs mostly to object libido.

The artist projects into the outer world certain feelings and emotions which deal with object-love.

It is on this basis of autoerotism and object libido that we may explain why most people see nothing artistic in so-called modern art. For some reason or other, the latter productions belong to autoeroticism. That is why they seem to most people to be nothing short of insane productions, and as a matter of fact it is often impossible to distinguish one from the other. There is no doubt that if we were to compare side by side some characteristic poem of a representative ultra-modern poet with the verse of some insane patient, we would at once be struck by the marked degree of similarity between them. It is thus only by seeing the catalogue that we can know that this particular ultra-modern picture represents a nude descending the staircase, or this one New York, or another a Spanish village. No stretch of the imagination could reveal to one what the artist actually meant to express. Information obtained from the artist himself fully corroborates this view. As one of their spokesmen said, he did not care whether his picture meant anything to the spectator, it represented a source of gratification to him and that was all that he was trying to attain. In other words, the work was the expression of an artist, but not an artistic expression in the strict sense.

We may thus lay it down as a general principle that all expressions, whether normal or abnormal, as symptoms, dreams, witticisms, fairy tales and artistic productions, may be classified as infantile or adult, or as autoerotic or object libido. Inherently, there is very little difference as far as the individual is concerned, but conceived socially, we may say that only those productions that have meaning and affect to others besides the artist or producer himself may be considered normal.

CHAPTER XIII

SELECTIONS OF VOCATIONS

IN the previous chapter I tried to make clear to you that the reason why I object to certain types of fairy tales is because fairy tales are offshoots of archaic thinking originating in antiquity, and because they are products of unconscious wishes symbolically representing those primitive impulses which the cultured being must learn to repress and sublimate in order to fit himself for modern life.¹ Progressive civilization depends on the harnessing and controlling of the forces of nature as well as the forces of the individual, and in directing these forces into useful channels. A fairy tale, or a story that stimulates any of the partial impulses or components of sex in children, may impede or arrest the normal control of the individual's energy. Sooner or later every normal human being must give up many of his natural prerogatives and become part of the society he lives in. He must renounce many of his individual desires and must exert continuous effort for the common weal. That is, every individual must contribute something to the society he lives in by adding something useful to it. We may designate such contributions as work.

In the progressive development of culture this mode of activity became more and more complex. At first there were almost as many vocations as men, but as time went on it was found necessary that many persons perform the same

¹ Brill: "Psychoanalysis, Its Theories and Applications," p. 293, W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

kind of work. Instead of one tailor or doctor or musician there had to be many tailors, many doctors, and many musicians. In other words, every individual has been allowed by society to live through some of the pleasure principles, but he has been forced to adapt himself to the principles of reality. From our psychoanalytic knowledge we recognize this process as sublimation. Every activity or vocation not directed to sex in the broadest sense, no matter under what guise, is a form of sublimation.

Now, is the form of sublimation followed by the individual a matter of accident; in other words, is the selection of vocation a matter of chance, or is it governed by definite laws? The average person seems to consider the selection of a vocation accidental or at least something that is quite impersonal. He usually assumes that given certain qualifications, physical or mental, or both, a person could undertake any kind of work or vocation. This view is evidently held by parents who usually think they are best qualified to select their children's vocation, and by professional vocational guides who have reduced it all to a sort of mathematical formula. They examine the person, discover some of his attributes, and then feel presumptuous enough to tell him what he is fitted for. Such procedure may be good enough for defective persons whose power of sublimation is poor in any case and whom a certain amount of suggestion can influence at least for a time. But does a normal person need such advice and does such advice help him? Investigation shows that the normal individual needs no advice or suggestion in the selection of a vocation, he usually senses best what activity to follow, and, what is more, he is invariably harmed if advice is thrust upon him by a person of authority. For it is known that all our actions are psychically determined by unconscious motives, that there is no psychic activity which does not follow definite paths formed in the

individual since his childhood, and as work or profession is nothing but a sublimating process in the service of hunger and love we may assume that it also must be guided by the individual's unconscious motives. Investigation has convinced me of the truth of these assumptions.

When we ask a person why he follows a certain vocation he usually answers that he does not know, that he just drifted into it accidentally. Occasionally he answers that his grandfather and his father performed the same line of work and that he followed it. On applying the psycho-analytic method, however, one usually finds some hidden reasons for the particular activity. For years I had investigated in this manner among patients, friends and strangers, and though my findings are not complete I feel that I can furnish a preliminary report.

The motives which actuate one to take up a certain vocation vary with the person, that is, every vocation is individually determined. My first investigation naturally began with physicians. I asked of my confrères why they took up the practice of medicine as a vocation and from the many answers obtained I shall mention some.

Dr. W. stated that since his early childhood he had been surrounded with doctors who were endeavoring to cure him of a paralyzed limb, the effects of infantile paralysis, and as they could not help him he decided to become a physician and cure himself.

Dr. A. recalled that as a child he suffered from boils or carbuncles and was taken to the doctor by his father. The doctor was very brutal to him, and very inconsiderate and almost insulting to his poor father. As a child he could not understand his father's humility in the presence of the brutal doctor, as his father's behavior was quite different in his own home. This impression remained permanently fixed on his mind. Whenever he was punished by his father he

thought of the doctor before whom his father trembled, and as a small boy he secretly wished he were a doctor. When he became of age he realized his wish.

Dr. B. had no idea why he chose medicine as his profession, but finally recalled a scene from his early childhood. He overheard a conversation between his mother and another woman; the latter looking at him asked his mother the month of his birth, and when told that it was the month of October she dryly remarked, "Poor boy, he will be either a doctor, a butcher, or a murderer. He will have to shed blood." As he did not care to adopt the last two vocations, he became a physician.

Dr. C. told me that as a boy he lived near a slaughter house, and often witnessed the killing and skinning of animals, which greatly fascinated him. Since the age of eight years he had not seen the slaughter house, and these scenes entirely vanished from his mind, but when at the age of sixteen the teacher of physiology demonstrated the circulation of the blood in the frog he became very interested and decided to study medicine.

Dr. D. was the son of a horse dealer who was also interested in veterinary surgery. His father urged him to become a veterinary surgeon, which he set out to do, but changed later to human beings.

Dr. E. was the son of a butcher whose ambition it was that the son should follow his vocation. The latter, however, insisted upon studying medicine and became a learned anatomist.

In all these cases the sado-masochistic components were first accentuated—in Dr. W. through his own suffering, and in the others through early impressions—and later sublimated in the profession.

The woman who associated the doctor (surgeon) with the butcher and murderer was not so far from the mark, 'All

these activities are based on the sado-masochistic components, it is only a question of adjustment. The surgeon and the butcher have both conquered their sadistic impulses and sublimate the same for useful purposes. The former representing a higher state of mental evolution becomes a direct savior of human beings, while the latter, not so much endowed mentally or perhaps having lacked the opportunities for further mental development, still helps mankind by butchering the animals which furnish its meat supply.

The professions of prize fighters, wrestlers, bull-fighters, warriors, and mighty hunters are direct descendants of pure sadism, and the need for the sadistic outlet is well shown by the popularity of these vocations. Those who witness a prize fight soon observe that the whole audience, and particularly the votaries of the manly art, actually participate in the fight. One of my patients told me that whenever he goes to a prize fight he has to sit apart from every one, for when the prize fighter, who is his favorite, strikes he has to imitate him. He got himself into trouble many a time for hitting his neighbors, he simply could not control himself, and to avoid this he has to sit away from the other spectators. Others do not actually strike their neighbors but they shout, yell, and mimic the actors; in other words, they identify themselves with the fighter and in this way give vent to their own sadistic feelings.

Some of the mechanisms are quite different, thus I know three physicians who selected this profession because as children they were jealous of the family doctor, who, they imagined, stood in greater favor with their mothers than their own fathers. Quite a number of the sons of my lady patients whom I treated successfully have announced their intention to study medicine and take up my specialty. There is a tendency on the part of the sons to rival their fathers or any other man whom their mother admires. The last

mechanism is also observed in other vocations. I know two sons who became real estate agents in order to outdo the man with whom their mother was in love.

The profession of law is often taken up as a reaction to a dishonest act committed in childhood or early boyhood by oneself, by parents, or by some immediate member of the family, as brother or sister. Such persons are usually scrupulously honest lawyers and judges, as unconsciously they always feel that they are suspected and that they have something to atone for. Quite often it is an unconscious effort to obtain justice for oneself as a result of an injustice experienced in childhood.

Mr. C., a very prominent jurist, had no idea why he took up the study of law, but examination revealed the following facts: He was brought up in a religious New England atmosphere. His mother was rather nervous, and kept her husband and children in a very repressive state. The Mayflower spirit hovered over everything. She particularly objected to smoking, and for years quarreled with her husband about it, until he was forced to give up this luxury. Her two boys were constantly subjected to all sorts of restrictions. One day, while waiting with other children in the dressing room of a dancing school, they noticed a burning cigarette left by the dancing master. The older brother, noticing the burning cigarette, which stood for one of the strongest taboos in his home, conceived the temptation to violate it, and not having the courage to do it himself, he turned to his younger brother and said, "Charles, I dare you to take a puff from the cigarette." "I will take one if you will," answered Charles, and on being assured that the older brother would follow him in this transgression, he bravely inserted the cigarette into his mouth and took the puff. His older brother thereupon lost his courage and refused to follow suit. And what was more, in order to atone

for his evil thought, he told his parents of what Charles was guilty. One can hardly picture the fear, remorse, mortification, and last, but not least, the sense of injustice experienced by the little boy when he was denounced by his parents. The mother was terrified at the son's crime, and called him to account for it. Charles experienced a double feeling; to confess would be facing his mother's terrible wrath, and to lie would be facing the wrath of heaven. He chose the latter and stoutly denied his guilt. To settle the matter the parents asked him whether he would take an oath on the Bible that he did not commit the crime. Charles hesitated just a few seconds and then stood ready to take the oath. It seems that the parents suspected that he was guilty, or they feared to use the holy Bible in vain, so that instead of bringing in the holy book they brought in the Bible stories, upon which Charles swore that he did not take the puff. The parents probably soon forgot the episode, but Charles retained an everlasting impression of it. For a long time he felt like a person guilty of an enormous crime against God and his parents, and constantly anticipated some terrible retribution; on the other hand, he felt that a great injustice was done to him by his brother, who first inveigled him into committing this evil act, and then betrayed him. In time this episode was forgotten, but the small boy became thoughtful and serious minded; as he grew older he became a champion of oppressed classmates and gradually decided to become a judge. When he graduated from college he took up the study of law and realized his wish.

What was just enumerated was discovered during the analysis of a stereotyped dream which appeared on two occasions while the dreamer was under an anesthetic, the second time after an interval of twenty years. The dreamer imagined that it was the Day of Judgment, and that he stood before God, who asked him questions; although he knew

the answers he refused to give them and was jeered by the multitude. God in the dream was his father, and being examined on the Day of Judgment referred to the episode just related. The father in the dream as well as in daily life is often substituted by the Governor, the Mayor, and by God himself.¹ Mr. C., who is now about fifty-five years old, had no conscious knowledge of the cigarette episode and the part it played in his life until his dream was analyzed. When he finished his story I remarked that there was one other vocation that he might have taken up, the ministry, because in my experience this vocation is often followed by persons who unconsciously feel remorse for some crime committed in childhood or as a reaction to temptations in later life. He confirmed my statement by telling me that he was in doubt as to which of the two vocations to take up, and if it were not for the fact that his religious feelings underwent a great change during his college years he would have become a minister of the gospel. He was undecided about it until he graduated from college—it was always a question between the ministry or the law.

Unconscious and sometimes conscious feelings of guilt and remorse as a reaction to real or imaginary sins are often the basis of theological callings. This mechanism is clearly seen in such religious groups as the Salvation Army and some Missions. If one attends such religious meetings one invariably hears confessions such as, "I was a thief and a low sinner until I saw the light of the Lord; two years later I was a backslider, but again I found Him," etc. Some of the converts fluctuate all the time between heaven and hell. Here the maladjustment is so marked that sublimation is imperfect or almost impossible; this accounts for the chronic backsliding and the repeated changes from one religion to

¹ Freud: "The Interpretation of Dreams," translated by A. A. Brill, The Macmillan Company, New York.

another. Only a few months ago the daily press reported the case of a clergyman who changed for the third time from one denomination to another.

I know a similar case of a man who fluctuates between fervent Evangelism and extreme Atheism. He is a morbidly religious person who is making desperate efforts to adjust himself, and depending on the reaction of the time he either preaches the gospel or the non-existence of God. I was also impressed by the number of dissatisfied and struggling homosexuals who follow religious callings.

Sublimation of infantile exhibitionism¹ often impels one to follow the stage, the army, or the vocation of life saver. The actor and the professional soldier are sublimated exhibitionists *par excellence*; the latter is also unconsciously dominated by a strong aggressive component. The aggressive component which under certain conditions changes to sadism is found in the sexuality of most men. "It is a propensity to subdue, the biological significance of which lies in the necessity of overcoming the resistance of the sexual object by actions other than mere courting."² This component is seen throughout life in its sublimated form, one notes it in the aggressive business man, in the lawyer, in the satirical speaker and in its accentuated form in the soldier. Among the first games of boys one invariably finds the playing of soldier, and the need for such outlets is readily seen in the popularity of the Boy Scout movement, and the admiration that has been bestowed on soldiers from time immemorial.

Acting also belongs to the earliest games of children. In fact, most playing of children is acting. It is known that a great many nervous people are good actors; they are natural

¹ Freud: "Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex," p. 53
Monograph Series, *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases Pub.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

actors. Hysterical persons can imitate almost anything; they are the best tragedians as well as the best comedians. And if we consider the nature and mechanism, namely, the inability to adjust or fix properly one's libido, we can readily understand the psychology of the actor. The actor utilizes this very inferiority as a sublimation. Actors are persons who are usually unable to fix properly their libido. Due to some unconscious disturbance their emotional transference is more or less inhibited, so that they are unable to develop fixed characteristics; they remain more or less infantile and are therefore able to identify themselves with the great characters they represent on the stage; they are still mouldable, as it were. That accounts for some of the characteristic traits of the actor. I refer to the sexual maladjustment as evinced in uninhibited morality and marital unsteadiness which have been attributed to stage folks in all lands and at all ages. To be rigid or at least regular in the sense of following the dictum of society in one's sex life presupposes a well-adjusted and fixed libido. Now I do not wish to imply that the actor is to be considered inferior because he manifests this maladjustment of his love life; on the contrary he has the courage to put in operation what the average person secretly desires. That is why we admire the actor, and that accounts for the popularity of plays which deal with the primitive impulses. They offer us a mental catharsis, we cry and laugh at the play because we identify ourselves with the actor, to wit, with the hounded rogue or ideal hero, whom he represents. The actor's identification with the stage character is well illustrated by the following story. An admirer of the great actor Booth, after witnessing his wonderful performance of King Lear, asked the famous tragedian to explain the secret of his skillful rendition to this character. Booth, turning very abruptly, responded, "Sir, I am Lear."

It is due to the same mechanism that only few great actors have ever produced original works that could lay claim to individuality. They are so used to identify themselves with their stage characters that they find no time to develop a steady and fixed character of their own. For the character of a person is nothing but the sum total of one's past impressions.

My own investigation with life savers convinces me that most of them take genuine delight in their vocation mainly because they love to display their well-developed muscles. Professional athletes and "sports" are dominated by the same exhibitionistic impulse, most of the latter, however, unable to exhibit themselves, gain pleasure by identifying themselves with the actors (ball players, fighters, etc.).

Some of the vocations can be traced to very early infantile sexual traits. Thus I know of a maker of optical instruments, a successful manager of a big camera department, and three photographers who were punished in childhood for evincing a strong curiosity for sexual looking, and although they did not become *voyeurs*, they all manifested a strong tendency for looking. I have reported the case of a man who displayed in early childhood a strong perverted impulse for odors,¹ who became a successful perfume dealer, after he was a failure in two other vocations. Unconsciously such people take up the vocations that gratify them in a sublimated form. The reader need not be surprised and shocked merely because some people who are doing useful work merged into it through sexual impressions of childhood. There is nothing wrong about it. Some of the most sublime institutions in this world had their origin in sex.

In analyzing a man who became rich from an invention, or rather an improvement of patterns for ladies' apparel, I found the following facts: He was brought up in a small

¹ Brill, *Loc. cit.*, p. 135.

settlement in very poor surroundings. His father was unambitious, apparently not a very strong character, while his mother, to whom he was very much attached, was a very hard working woman who had a constant struggle to keep the wolf from the door. She was rarely able to save enough money to buy new clothes for the children and herself, and as a little boy he was often moved to tears when she bewailed her sad lot. It was the strong wish to grow up and work for his mother which later guided him unconsciously to occupy himself so assiduously with things relating to women's apparel through which he made a fortune.

Some selections of professions are quite puzzling. One wonders why some people take up the heavy brass instruments or the bass-drum in music. For the information of some it may be said that the players on these instruments usually have as much knowledge of music as any member of the band. One might therefore ask why they prefer instruments that can be used only in conjunction with a band and which offer little if any outlet in any other way. I have not had the opportunity to study many such people, so that I am not offering anything conclusive. I know two drum players and two saxhorn players.

Mr. T., a drummer in an orchestra, told me that as a little boy of 4, 5, or 6 years he was very anxious to have a drum; the neighbor's boy received one for Christmas and he begged his father for one and cried for it, but the latter either did not wish to buy it for him or was perhaps too poor to do so. One evening the neighbor's door was open and no one seemed to be home; he walked quietly into the house and stole the drum. He hid it for a while, but as he could not resist the temptation to beat on it he was soon caught with the goods. The punishment was severe and produced a very strong impression. At the age of seventeen years he began to study the violin, and a few years later he joined

an amateur orchestra, playing second violin. A vacancy for the drummer's place then occurred and he volunteered to fill it. In a very short time he became such an accomplished player on this instrument that he obtained a lucrative position in a big orchestra.

Mr. X., the other kettle drum player, was very fond of music and studied it for years. He, too, volunteered to take the position of drummer in a band and has played on this instrument ever since. Mr. X. came to me for treatment because of bashfulness. He had always been a very seclusive and reserved person afraid to speak to people. It was impossible for him to put himself *en rapport* with anybody. He became tongue-tied whenever he came in contact with people, men or women. When he first came to this city he refused to live in a boarding house because he was afraid he would have to sit at the same table with people who might talk to him. Before taking up music as a profession he lost his position in an office because he was unable to talk to the manager of his department. Here the drum fits in well with his nature; the drum is not an instrument that talks along fluently with the other instruments, as, e.g., the violin or clarinet; though it is a part of the band it is nevertheless more or less aloof in its behavior and it can always be heard when it speaks. In the case of Mr. X. it served as a compensation for his enforced quietude.

The players on the heavy brass instruments showed similar mechanisms to the one found in X. One observes that people playing on drums, basses, or heavy brass instruments are not of the same type as those who play the first violin, and are altogether different in makeup from those who lead the band. They are often people who for some reason or other must stand away from the crowd, who are not very good "mixers," but would like to be.

I have spoken to a number of people who were rubbers

in Turkish baths. I found that in some cases the vocation went back to the infantile desire for touching, in others it was distinctly pathological, and still others have taken up this vocation because it alleviates their own physical ailments. I have in mind one man who has been a "rubber" for about twenty years. He told me that he suffered from rheumatism and was told that Turkish baths would help him; as his aches diminished through the baths he decided to take up some occupation in the baths and became a rubber.

A few street cleaners have also been examined. Some were seen by me, and a few by former patients who kindly volunteered to assist me. There seem to be two types of street cleaners, some who are quite old or incapacitated to an extent that they are unable to follow their former vocations, and others select street cleaning as a vocation of preference. The latter are usually clean-cut men of about 35 years and one wonders why they should be attracted to street cleaning. Of the few examined, some seemed to have retained the infantile coprophilia and, like children, liked to wallow in dirt. One of my friends brought me a report of a man of about 35 years, a street cleaner, who described the difficulties he had to encounter to obtain this position; that he had to pass examinations and had to get some political influence, etc., etc. This man distinctly stated that he "loved" his work because "I love to see the water flush the streets and clean them through and through." His whole life seemed to be in his work, as he described it. This man recalls Boitelle by Maupassant, who "made a specialty of undertaking dirty jobs all through the countryside. Whenever there was a ditch or a cesspool to be cleaned out, a dunghill removed, a sewer cleansed, or any dirt hole whatever, he was always employed to do it." Dr. Karpas, from whose interesting paper I am quoting,¹ states: "Boitelle was

¹ Karpas; Freud's Psychology, *New York Journal*, June 14, 1913.

disappointed in love—he was not allowed to marry a negress with whom he was deeply in love. Thus his ungratified wish—to marry a negress who was forbidden him by his parents and by society—found a substitute in the selection of a particular vocation which was likewise dirty and disagreeable to society."

One of the street cleaners who came under my observation presented almost a similar mechanism. He was an able-bodied man of about 40 years who could give no reason for selecting this vocation. When asked about it, he said it was "as rotten and dirty as any other—what does it matter what you do?" He was an avowed anarchist and took every occasion to decry the rottenness of our social system. I heard him a few years ago at a public meeting where he protested against being forced by the Street Cleaning Department to march with a dirty broom on his shoulder. He was fiery in his denunciation, to the extent of advocating violence. I was unable to enter into his intimate life, but may we not assume that his vocation was an unconscious effort to clean up the rottenness of society which seemed to trouble him so much? I have no doubt that had we been able to enter into this man's life we would have found besides some infantile determinant.

Besides the specific forms of sublimation, as seen in special vocations, one also notices certain modes of sublimation of a more or less general nature. "Only" children and first-borns, who, by virtue of their positions in the family, become domineering and officious¹ usually select the vocation requiring leadership, such as teachers, religious and political leaders, while the youngest child, who was bullied and intimidated by his older brothers, is generally satisfied with a subordinate position in life. I have mentioned only very few examples of the mechanism of selection of vocation that

¹Brill, *Loc. cit.*, p. 279.

have come under my observation, but these suffice to show the forces that one generally finds behind selected vocations. There is always some psychic determinant which laid the foundation for the later vocation, and if not interfered with the individual is unconsciously guided to express his sublimation in that particular form. It makes no difference whether a man is a financier, preacher, actor, physician, cook, or shoemaker, provided he himself has selected this vocation and was not forced into it by home environments or social conditions; he will find his proper outlet in his work and under normal conditions he will never become fatigued by it or wearied of it. Most of the failures in life are due to the fact that one tries to do what one is unfit for or unwilling to accomplish. Incidentally, I wish to say that no one ever suffers a nervous breakdown from overwork. Of course, I am not referring to breakdown as a result of physical factors which are seen among workers in factories under unsanitary conditions, but to the so-called nervous breakdown as a result of overwork. Strictly speaking, these maladies do not exist. When one investigates such nervous breakdowns one invariably finds that many of them belong to the psychoses; others represent well-developed neuroses which were brought to the surface by any of the provoking agents one always encounters in such maladies, and in still others one finds that the work or vocation was always accompanied by severe resistances, and that instead of representing a natural outlet it was monotonous drudgery. When one takes the history of such persons one finds that they were always more or less discontented, that they were in constant need of vacations, and were always ailing. Contented workers have to be forced to take vacations. Vacations as commonly understood are neurotic fads which adjusted persons don't want and which are of no benefit to those who clamor for them. The fact that most vacations

really cause fatigue shows that their alleged purpose is just a blind. The adjusted person works for work's sake—his vocation represents a part of his "cosmic urge" and hence he is unable to stop. That answers those who are puzzled why some of our multimillionaires continue to work untiringly. It is surely not for the love of money, as most think. On the other hand, there are cases on record of men who died soon after giving up lifelong vocations.

There are also a great many failures due to the fact that people follow certain vocations for which they are mentally unfit. Such persons are usually defectives who have not enough insight into their own ability and cannot at any time sublimate properly; this is clearly seen in their love-life, wherein they evince rapid attachments and just as ready detachments of their libido. They are unable to fix on either the love object or vocation; they are pathological flirts. The other failures are due to exogenous factors; not a few among those were forced into their vocations by some authority, and were then prevented by conscious or unconscious circumstances from changing to something else. Such persons merge in time into a neurosis, which is nothing but a manifestation of their inadequate adjustment, and often enough forces them to give up their work and take up something else. Unconsciously physicians have always sensed this mechanism, and for years it was customary to advise nervous patients to take up another vocation which they selected for them. Such selections were invariably doomed to failure, as no person of normal mind, even though neurotic, should be advised as to the selection of a vocation. The few attempts which I made to advise patients as to what to do invariably proved undesirable.

Miss R., a school teacher, became nervous and had to be rolled in a chair for a number of years. After being treated for quite a time she finally recovered. She did not wish to

return to teaching and I suggested that she take up a certain course in the School of Philanthropy at Columbia University; I felt that that would be the desirable thing under the circumstances. She thought it was a splendid idea, and acted upon it at once. I did not see her for a few weeks, when one day she called upon me at my office. She was in tears, and I feared at first that her symptoms reappeared. After I calmed her, she began to explain that she hated the course; when I asked her why she continued with it, she simply argued: "Well, Doctor, you told me to take it." In other words, here she was struggling along for weeks, unhappy and discontented, because I took it upon myself to advise her. She went on to tell me that though she could not recover all of her tuition fee, she was quite willing to drop the course. When I inquired what she expected to do now, she told me that she would like to make lamp shades. I assure you that was the last thing that would ever occur to me. She has been making lamp shades ever since, and I am glad to say, that she is getting along very well. The point is that she is happy and loves her work simply because it was her own selection.

I had a similar experience with Mr. S., who was considerably rich and philanthropic. When he was cured, I urged him to enter some occupation, but was at a loss as to what to advise him to undertake. Dr. Putnam of Boston happened to be in New York at that time and he suggested that inasmuch as the patient was charitable and had a regular income it would be a capital idea for him to open up an office and mete out his charitable donations himself. I thought it was a happy suggestion and I imparted it at once to Mr. S., who was quite enthusiastic over it. After a few weeks, however, he came to me, utterly disgusted, declaring impatiently: "I can't do the damned thing; I hate those people; I'll give them the money but I don't want to talk

to them." When I asked him what he would like to do, I learned that he had been thinking of entering the art business which, he said, he loved and had been interested in for years. I discussed the plan with him and the only counsel I gave him was to go into partnership with a person who was fully acquainted with the strictly business end of the undertaking. He has done very well since then and is now considered a connoisseur in his profession.

As in the selection of a mate, a sensible person needs no advice and wants none, and fools will fail in spite of the best guidance, for we can only do well those things that we do with our hearts, with our whole souls. The people who themselves selected their vocations, whose cases I cited, were successful in their various callings, because their vocations supplemented or substituted their primitive components. The German expression, "Arbeit macht das Leben süß," is literally true in cases where the work represents an outlet for the individual. This is true of all vocations. Those of you who have lived abroad and frequented the less pretentious restaurants remember how proud a French or Italian cook is of his or her special dish, and how pleased the host is when his guest enjoys his meal. One can see they derive genuine pleasure from their work. I feel that the restlessness and dissatisfaction among our working classes, which often results in strikes, is not altogether due to the causes generally attributed to them. It is not so much a question of money as of emotion.⁴ Owing to the many inventions which have gradually transformed manual labor into machine work, the laborer no longer finds the same interest in his work. The shoemaker no longer makes a shoe, but as a hand in the shoe factory he constantly performs one simple thing which is of no interest to him and which soon becomes drudgery. When one compares this factory worker to the shoemaker of yore who took the measurements, selected the leather, and

then put his whole personality into the making of the shoe, one can understand why the latter, as we still find him in some parts of Europe, is a much happier man.

On the other hand, I have seen many perfectly normal people who were failures in life simply because they were not allowed to follow their own inclinations. Instead of being prepared for life in general, their parents felt it necessary to accompany and guide them through every detail. Some of them struggled for 20 and 30 years with vocations which their fathers imposed upon them and stopped being failures only after their fathers' death, when they took up something which they really liked.

Thus I have known a man whose father compelled him to study music, despite his resistances. When he completed an excellent education in music in this country, he was sent to Berlin. The teacher declared that he possessed technique but lacked warmth and emotion. The father was obdurate, and insisted that the young man continue his studies. When the son reached the age of twenty-six, however, he took a full breath, as it were, and dropped music; thereafter he turned from one vocation to another, only to be compelled to return to music in every case. He continued to do this until his father died, when he entered the insurance business, in which he is now doing excellently.

Likewise, much harm is often done by parents who take it upon themselves to decide the child's future career. I have seen a boy of about ten or eleven years old, brought to me by his father who considered him incorrigible. He informed me that the boy refused to do what he was told, took absolutely no interest in his studies and flatly insisted on not going to school. I examined the boy and found that he was mentally perfectly normal. When I asked him why he did not wish to study, he said, "Well, I don't want to be a lawyer." "And what would you like to be?" "Oh, well,"

he quickly replied, "I would like to raise strawberries." When he was in the country, the gardener had told him that there was a good deal of money in raising strawberries; what was more, he liked strawberries exceedingly, and so he decided to make raising strawberries his life work. I assured him that his father would have no objection to it, but that he would first have to learn how to read and write; upon which he went on to say that if his father would promise him that he may raise strawberries, he would go to school. As you may imagine, the father perpetually kept on dinging into the poor boy's ears that he would have to be a lawyer; every time the child made some error, he would zealously remind him that "he would make a devil of a lawyer." The youngster was already sick and tired of the law at the tender age of ten; and was it any wonder? I then called in the father and after treating him for a little while, I had him promise to permit the youngster to raise strawberries in July. The boy did very well following this, and when summer came he at once set about realizing his ideal. He worked with the gardener for half a day, when he grew disgusted and decided to drop the profession altogether. He is now attending college. This boy developed so many resistances to his father and his ideas that he retaliated by simply refusing to do anything. The parents thought that he was vicious and abnormal simply because he revolted against a vocation which his father had selected for him from the very beginning. It is highly advisable, then, that the average normal individual be permitted to select his own vocation.

When we look back upon the field we have surveyed in this brief course, we find one fact standing out very prominently. It is a highly significant fact and we find it in one ^{Conclusion} form or another, in practically every subject that we have taken up. Indeed, we may say that it served as a

basis for our whole discussion,—the fact that all unconscious mentation is motivated fundamentally by the wish.

We began with the symptom and we found that in the final analysis it represents the realization of a hidden wish. This we observed to hold true not only in the field of the neurosis but in the field of the psychosis as well. We saw in the very first case that I cited that the hysterical symptom in the arm was a compromise between two psychic streams, the foreconscious and the unconscious respectively, representing the fulfillment of a hidden wish. We noted the patient's mental conflict. She could not accept the young man's failure to propose as proof that he took no interest in her, yet she could not understand why he should not propose. We saw how her state of marked emotional tension was brought to a climax when the young man pressed her arm on the night before he left, and how it was this emotionally accentuated incident that she wished to retain in memory. For it was then that she expected he would say the long-expected word. Analysis revealed that it was this marked mental state that became converted into the pain, that the hysterical symptom was but a concrete expression of her inner wish.

We see the same conversion in the psychoses. But here, the process is much farther reaching and more violent in reaction; in order to attain his wish, the individual is compelled to tear himself away from reality altogether. We tried to make this clear by citing several cases. We saw in the instance of the tailor who had been maltreated by the farmer and his sons an attempt at first at a solution of the problem through the regular channels of social justice. But when this failed, he tore himself away from reality altogether, realizing his desire for redress in his hallucinatory condition. We saw a more marked example of the same condition in the case of the young woman who developed delusions of reference, when she realized that she had lost the man in

whom she was interested. Here, the rationalizing process which was quite unconscious, is noteworthy. Forced to the conclusion that she lost the man because she was too reserved and moral, the patient attempts to readjust herself to the new condition by imagining that she really is immoral. "He left me because I am immoral:" that is how she realizes her unconscious wish.

The psychopathological action,—the slip of the tongue, the various "little" mistakes we make from day to day,—all follow the same wish tendency. When the young man wrote "maternity" instead of "fraternity," there is no doubt at all that he expressed in that way what was uppermost on his mind: his ardent wish to enter upon matrimony. The unconscious never lies. When a young woman writes: "From now on I am going to be running back home" when she should have written: "From now on I am *not* going to be running back home," we may be sure that she wishes to return, and other things being equal, that she will. This is borne out by the facts. The young woman in question was experiencing many conflicts in her work as a sales-person for a publishing house. The letter in which the above slip occurred was written directly upon arriving in her field, which she had left as many as three times, only to return again on the persuasion of her field manager. The letter was intended to assure the manager that she was no longer experiencing any mental conflicts regarding the work, but her mistake showed clearly her real state of mind, for a week later actually found her back again home.

The examples given in our discussion of wit show conclusively the wish motive. This was particularly shown in tendency wits where the hostile or sex wishes always show themselves. When we come to dreams, the wish motive becomes more and more evident. The latent content of the dream invariably expresses a hidden wish. The individual

craves for something, but as he cannot attain it in reality, it is realized for him in the dream. I am not going to stop to give any examples; the numerous dreams we have cited all show the wish tendency very clearly.

In collections, and in a highly more sublimated form, in the selections of vocations also, we have the same wish tendency in evidence. Fairy tales, too, as we saw, follow the same trend: they are poetic productions containing some wish which the individual was unable to realize in reality. And finally, all normal and abnormal artistic expression is no exception to our rule, for in the final analysis, the artistic production is nothing but a wish compromise, emanating from the unconscious mental activity of the individual endowed with talent.

INDEX

Abreaction
 meaning, 9
 example 14

Actor, as exhibitionist, 321-323

Adam and Eve, significance of story, 67, 209

Adjustment, 30, 189, 191
 dependent on home environment, 223, 277
 in relation to fairy tales, 296
 in the neurosis and psychosis, 35, 40

Aggression, sexual, 129, 130, 132, 135
 “coprophilic” wit of, 135

Agoraphobia, 43

Alexander the Great, 309

Algolagnia, 307

Ambivalence, of feeling, 222

Amnesia, posthypnotic, 16

Andersen, 209, 210, 300, 305

Animals, identification with, 232-240, 243

Animism, in wit, 122

Anticipation dream, 174

Anxiety. (See Fear.)

Anxiety dreams, 171, 172, 184, 189, 192-194

Anxiety hysteria, 42, 43, 177, 182

Aphasia, 49, 68, 75

Aretæus, 2

Aristotle, 310

Artificial dreams, 195-200

Artistic productions, 308-312
 among insane, 310-312
 autoerotism in modern, 311, 312
 difference between dreams, symptoms, etc., and 309, 310

Artistic productions
 (*continued*),
 difference between sane and insane, 311, 312
 infantile expression in modern, 62, 311
 relation to artist's life, 310, 311
 similarity of modern to insane, 312
 wish in, 308-310, 336

Athlete as exhibitionist, 323

Autoerotic love, 189
 in insane artistic productions, 311, 312

Automatism, in wit, 119, 120

Bacon, 289

Barber's pole, significance, 65

Baudesson, Captain, 88

Beard, 5

Beechstein, Ludwig, 299

Behaviorists, 62

Bell, Sanford, 70

Bernheim, 16

Binet-Simon tests, 63

Bleuler, 52, 63, 89, 197, 257, 258

Boitelle, 326

Booth, 322

Brahma, 289

Breuer, 7, 16

Buddha, 289

Burroughs, John, 244

Catatonic (characteristics), 256, 257

Cathartic method, 9, 12

Censor psychic, 225-227, 246

Charcot, 6, 7

Charnwood, Lord, 134

Chavan Narischkin, Countess, 103

Christmas, 67

Chronic engagements, psychology of, 223

Civilization, 26, 27, 30, 32, 112, 127, 130-132, 136, 161, 162, 186, 187, 266, 313

Collections, psychology of, 102-110, 336

Comparison, basis of thinking, 59-64, 68

Complex, meaning 13
"prostitution complex," 45

"Complex readiness," 89, 90, 97
case of, 90, 91

Components, partial, 128, 129, 304, 313, 316, 317, 321

Compulsion neurosis, 43

Concealing memories, 68-75, 179, 182

Condensation,
in dreams, 117, 125, 170, 224, 225
in wit, 115-117

Confucius, 289, 294

Conscious, the, conception of, 16, 225, 226

Consolation dream, 227, 229

Continuous association, 18, 19, 53

Convenience dream, 149

Conversion, 12, 334

Crepuscular state (of sleep), 140

Criminal,
in relation to dreams, 158, 159
related to liar, 207

Crown prince, origin of institution, 279, 280, 288

"David Copperfield," 311

Da Vinci, Leonardo, 219, 220, 311

Day dreams, 195

Death,
dreams of, 210-217, 221, 222, 223-226
significance to child, 210

Defectives, 19, 26, 27, 62, 190, 203, 329

Delusions,
distinguished from illusions, 39
of grandeur, 205
of reference, 45, 266, 334
of self-accusation, 286
of transformation, 239

Dementia praecox, 28, 29, 191, 253-261, 286

difference between manic-depressive insanity and, 263

relation to normal person, 278

Determinant of dream, 140, 155, 173, 192-195, 245, 248

Dickens, Charles, 98, 208, 311

Diseases, nervous and mental, 2-7
difference between nervous and mental, 253

Mental, two entities, 27-29

Displacement, 69, 179, 185
from below to above, 172
in dreams, 125
in wit, 117-119

Disraeli, 115

Distortion,
in dreams, 154-157, 164, 165, 226
in wit, 157

Dostoyevski, 98

"Double entendre," 151, 154

Dream, the, 139-252
analogous to symptom, 176-182, 183
anticipation, 174
anxiety, 171, 172 184, 189, 191, 192
artificial, 195-200
as guardian of sleep, 147-151
condensation in, 117, 125, 170, 224, 225
consolation, 227, 229
convenience, 149
day dreams, 195
difference between wit and, 137, 138
displacement in, 125
distortion in, 154-157, 164, 165, 226

Dream, the (*continued*),
 determinant of, 140, 155, 173,
 192-195, 245, 248
 of death of relatives, 210-217,
 221-226
 egocentric, 213, 249, 252
 manifoldly determined, 240-
 252
 of missing train, 229
 examination, 226, 227
 exhibition, 209, 210
 falling, 230, 231
 flying, 229, 230
 function and motive of, 139-
 183
 identification with animals in,
 232-240, 243
 in pubescent age, 190, 191
 latent, 177, 178, 181-183, 247,
 250, 335
 "local," 231, 232
 manifest, 177, 182, 250
 Oedipus, 214-217
 "prophetic," 143, 144, 227, 228,
 229
 relation to unconscious, 23
 relation to wit, 137
 representation through oppo-
 site in, 125
 resemblance between wit and,
 137
 resolution, 228
 sense in nonsense in —, 125
 stimuli, internal and external,
 and, 140, 141, 143-146, 155,
 249
 strata of, 175
 streams of, 246
 wish in, 23, 147-150, 153-
 155, 158, 159, 163-167, 171,
 184, 192, 193, 199, 210, 211,
 226, 228-230, 234, 244-246,
 252, 335, 336

Dream book, 140
 Dreamy state (of sleep), 140
 Dressmaking, art of, 210

Education, 160, 161, 237
 Ellipsis, in wit, 122
 Emerson, 265

Empathic index, 169, 170
 Environment, 21
 in the psychosis, 296
 relation to only child, 279, 296

Epilepsy, psychic, 53, 54
 Equivalents, psychic, 53, 54
 Erasmus, 289

Erb, Heinrich, 6

Ethnic symbols, 65-67, 152

Examination dream, 226, 227
 Exhibition dream, 209, 210
 Exhibitionism, 128, 129, 321
 in wit, 127

Fairy tales, 296-308
 as emotional outlet, 300
 pernicious influences of, 300-
 308, 313
 wish in, 296-300, 308, 336

Falling dream, significance, 230,
 231

Fear, 43, 184, 185, 188, 189, 192
 of burglars, 101, 102, 185

Fetichism, meaning, 109

Fixation, upon parent, 217, 281-
 284, 293

Flying dream, 229, 230

"Folies à deux," form of insan-
 ity, 268

"Folies de dout," 43

Foch, Marshal, 307

Foreconscious, 15, 16, 40, 225,
 226, 334

Forgetting,
 concealing memories, 68-75,
 179, 182
 of names, 76-86
 psychology of, 49-59, 68-74,
 75
 typical case of, 51-59

Fortune teller, psychology of,
 298

Freud, Sigmund, 1, 4-9, 14-18,
 20-24, 29, 30, 40, 46, 47, 49,
 51-53, 56, 69, 71, 76, 86, 98,
 110, 111, 127, 142, 146, 189,
 209, 214, 215, 287, 311, 320,
 321

Froebel, 289

"Fugue," 54

INDEX

Galatea, 309
 Galen, 2
 Galileo, 289
 Goethe, 310, 311
 Government, 136, 137
 Grant, 288
 Grimm, 299, 305

Hallucination, distinguished from illusion, 39
 Handshake, diagnostic point in dementia *præcox*, 256
 Harmless wit, 126, 133
 Harrison, 288
 Hayes, 288
 Hippocrates, 1
 Hobbies, psychology of, 102-110, 336
 Homosexual, 321
 dream of, 196
 Horseshoe, origin of symbol, 109
 Hugo, 292
 Humor, sense of, in children, 164
 Hunger, primary impulse, 32, 315
 Hypnotism,
 difference between psychoanalytic method and, 18
 in mental diseases, 6, 7
 in relation to cathartic method, 89
 Hysteria, 1
 anxiety, 42, 43, 177, 182
 case of, 7, 8
 crying spells in, 31

Ibanez, 87
 Identification, 142, 143, 169, 223, 237, 298, 322, 323
 with animals, 167, 232-240, 243
 Illusion, distinguished from hallucination and delusion, 39
 Infantile amnesia, 70, 71
 Insanity,
 as emotional outlet, 36, 37, 38
 common forms of, 253, 254-278
 dementia *præcox*, 28, 29, 191, 253-261, 263, 278, 286
 difference between functional and organic, 27

Insanity (*continued*),
 insane artistic productions, 310-312
 manic-depressive insanity, 28, 29, 177, 261-263
 simulating insanity, 36, 37
 paranoia, 264-278
 Insomnia, causes of, 105
 Intermediary sexual aims, 128

"Jean Christophe," 85
 Johnson, 288
 Karpas, Doctor, 326
 Kepler, 289
 King David, 135
 King Lear, 322
 Kisielak, first modern advertiser, 288, 289
 Knight, Richard Payne, 66
 Korsakoff's psychosis, 206
 Kraepelin, 3, 4, 27, 28

Lang, 305
 Lapses,
 in reading, 97
 in talking, 91, 92, 93-95
 in writing, 88, 89, 95-97

Last child, relation to only child, 283, 285, 296

Latency period, place in child's development, 189, 190

Latent dream, 177, 182, 247, 250, 335

Libido, 194, 293, 322
 fixation of, 217, 281-284
 for looking and touching, 128, 323, 325, 326

Lincoln, Abraham, 134, 135, 169, 288

Life-saver, as exhibitionist, 321, 323

"Local" dreams, 231, 232

Locke's "tabula rasa," 20, 71

Losing symbolic action, 99-101

"Lothair," 115

Louise Lateau, case of, 207

Love (see Sex), instinct of, 32, 188, 223, 264, 281

Love-life (see Sex), 329
 adjustment in, 30, 272

INDEX

341

Love-life (*continued*),
as equivalent to sex, 29
cases of disturbances in, 31,
33, 34
Love object, enhancement of, 280
Luther, Martin, 289
Lycanthropia, 239
Lying, psychology of, 200-208

Madison, 288
Madonna cult, 219
Malingeringers, 37, 207
Mania,
as symptom, 2, 3
doubting, 43
in dementia præcox, 28
in manic-depressive insanity,
29, 262, 263
Manic-depressive insanity, 28,
29, 177, 182, 261-263
difference between dementia
præcox and, 263
in relation to normal person,
278
Manifest dream, 177, 182, 250
Marriage, 136, 137, 280
Masturbation, 255, 256, 270, 273,
277
in relation to dementia præcox,
255, 256
"Masculine protest," 235
Masochism, partial component,
304, 316, 317
Mather, Cotton, 289
Maupassant, 153, 326
Melancholia,
as symptom, 2, 3
in dementia præcox, 28
in manic-depressive insanity,
29, 262
Mental diseases, 2-7, 27-29
distinguished from nervous
diseases, 253
Methodicalness, relation to de-
mentia præcox, 261
Meyer, Adolph, 3
Michelangelo, 19
Miles, 67
Missing train, dream of, 229
Mona Lisa, 219, 311

Morons, 63
Mother-in-law, psychology, 282,
283
Motion, elementary pleasure, 159,
231

Napoleon, 169, 170
Narcistic love, 189
Nebuchadnezzar, identification
with animal, 238, 239
Nero, 294, 309
Nervous diseases, 2-7
difference between mental and,
253
Neurasthenia, 1, 28
meaning, 5
treatment, 5
cases of, 6
Neurosis, 26, 29, 31, 36, 37, 296,
328, 329, 334
as form of adjustment, 35-40
compulsion neurosis, 43
distinguished from psychosis,
27, 44
sex in, 29
Neurotics, 25-27, 35, 44, 79, 295
"Noopsyche," relation to "thymo-
psyche," 178
Nonsense wit, 122

Object love, 189, 190
insane artistic productions,
310-312
Œdipus dreams, 214-217
"Œdipus Rex," 214
Oldest child, relation to only
child, 288, 289
Only child, 279-295, 296
aggressive qualities of, 288,
289
as leader, 289, 327
crown prince, origin of insti-
tution, 279, 280
dependent on parent's influ-
ence, 283
fixation on parent's image, 281-
284, 293, 294
oldest son, position in home,
279, 280

Only child (*continued*),
 present economic system and,
 295
 prophylaxis and, 294, 295
 relation to environment, 279,
 296
 sleeping with parents and, 291
 transference of, 286-288
 Organic forgetfulness, 50
 Outdoing wit, 124, 125

Pan, 102
 Paradise, conception of, 209
 Paranoia, 264-278
 relation to "normal" person,
 278
 Paranoiac, parts of history, 270-
 277
 Pater, 310
 Pearson, 219
 Peary, 149
 Peeker, 128
 Penn, William, 289
 Perversion, meaning, 128
 Pestalozzi, 289
 Pets, as emotional outlet, 239,
 240
 Phallic symbols, 66
 Phillips, Wendell, 132, 133
 Pinel, Philippe, 2
 Playing with dolls, influence of,
 292
 Pleasure principle, 159, 314
 Poet, relation to liar, 207
 "Poison needle" case, 192, 193
 Poriomania, 54
 Prepubescent age, 106, 189, 190,
 281
 Prescott, 207
 Productions, artistic, 308, 312
 Projection, 45
 "Prophetic" dreams, significance,
 143, 144, 227-229
 Prophylaxis,
 only child and, 294, 295
 psychoanalysis and, 21, 46
 Prostitution complex, 45
 Prostitution fancies, 194
 "Pseudologia phantastica," 205

Psychoanalysis,
 as prophylaxis, 21, 46
 differences between hypnotism
 and, 18
 limitations of, 46
 meaning, 1
 relation to defective, 19
 similarity to sculpture, 18, 19
 Psychology,
 of actor, soldier, life-saver, etc.,
 321-323
 of changing names, 86-88
 of chronic engagements, 223
 of collections, 102-110, 336
 of crown prince institution, 279-
 280, 288
 of fear of burglars, 101, 102, 185,
 186
 of forgetting, 49-59, 68-75
 of forgetting names, 76-86
 of fortune-teller, 298
 of lapses in reading, writing,
 etc., 88-97
 of losing, 99-101
 of lying, 200-208
 of marriage among bachelors,
 286
 of mother-in-law, 282, 283
 of playing with dolls, 292
 of rivalry between father and
 son, 214, 317
 of smutty joke, 126-131, 133-136
 of sneezing, 144
 of vacations, 328, 329
 of wit, 113-138
 Psychopathological actions, 1,
 47, 49 51, 335
 Psychopathology of everyday
 life, changing names, 86-88
 collections, 102-110
 forgetting names, 76-86
 lapses in reading, writing, etc.,
 88-97
 losing, 99-101
 significance of, 24, 110-112
 Psychosis, 29, 37-39, 277, 278,
 296, 328, 334
 distinguished from neurosis,
 27, 44
 form of adjustment, 35-40

Psychosis (*continued*),
 Korsakoff's, 206
 meaning of, 27, 44, 253
 sex in, 29, 45
 Puberty, 22, 32, 189-191, 254, 264
 Purposeful wit, 125-137
 Putnam, Doctor, 330
 "Pygmalion," 293, 294

Reality, principle of, 160, 161,
 296, 314
 Representation through opposite,
 in dreams, 125
 in wit, 123
 Repression, force of, 160-163, 186
 Resolution dream, 228
 Riklin, 298
 Rivalry between father and son,
 214, 317
 Rolland, Romain, 85
 Roosevelt, 91, 288
 Rousseau, 290

Sadism, partial component, 304,
 305, 316, 317, 321
 Santo de Sanctis, 158
 Saturnalia, 67
 Sears, Lorenzo, Doctor, 132
 Selections of vocations, 313-333,
 336
 Senile dementia, 115, 282
 Sense in nonsense,
 in dreams, 125
 in wit, 123, 124
 Sex, 185
 Freud's concept of, 21-23, 29-
 35, 188
 in child and adult, 35, 106, 188,
 189
 in dementia praecox, 29
 in normal person, 30, 191
 in paranoia, 264
 origin of term "love," 186
 sex impulse, 32, 154, 187, 188,
 223
 Sexual curiosity, 73, 74, 128, 190,
 304, 323
 Sexual function, 186, 187
 Shakespeare, 311
 Shaw, Bernard, 168, 293, 294

Sleeping with parents, among
 children, 291
 Smutty joke, psychology of, 126-
 131, 133-136
 Sneezing, psychology of, 144
 Sophocles, 214, 215
 Spiritualism, psychology of, 298
 St. Francis, 289
 St. Paul, 66, 289
 Stammering, 79-84
 Stimuli, as dream inciters, 140,
 141, 143-146, 155, 249
 Strata of dream, 175
 Sublimation, 320-322, 327, 328
 meaning, 314
 Suggestion, posthypnotic, 16, 17,
 146
 Suicide, 240, 262
 idea of, as emotional outlet,
 234
 Swett, Leonard, 134
 Symbols, 59-68, 151-153
 Symbolic actions. (See *Psy-
 chopathology of everyday
 life*.)
 Symptom, 147, 179
 analogous to dream, 176-183
 as compromise, 41-43
 as outlet, 35-40
 latent content of, 178
 meaning of, 9, 12, 25
 relation to unconscious and
 foreconscious, 15, 16
 wish in, 163, 334

"Talking cure," 8, 9
 Taylor, 288
 Technique of wit, 113-125
 Tendencies of wit, 125-138
 Thackeray, 98
 Thumb-sucking, 159
 "Thymopsycche," 178
 Transference, 287
 of only child, 286-288
 Troglodytes, state of, 266
 Tyler, 288

Unconscious, 76, 181, 183, 193,
 209, 212, 213, 217, 225, 246,
 334, 335

INDEX

Unconscious (*continued*),
 language, 20, 66
 meaning, 13, 14, 40
 nature, 15, 16
 Unification wit, 120 121

Vacations, psychology of, 328,
 329

Van Dyke, 110

Van Buren, 288

"Verbigerations," in dementia
 præcox, 256

Virchow, 3, 207

Vocations, selections of, 313-
 333, 336

Voyeur, 128, 323

Wallace, Doctor, 144

Wanke, 307

Washington, 288

Weber-Fechner law, 145

"Werthers Leiden," 310, 311

"White-lie," 200, 201

Wish,
 in artistic productions, 308-310,
 336
 in collections, 336
 in dreams, 147-150, 153-155, 158,
 159, 163-167, 171, 184, 192,
 193, 199, 210, 211, 226, 228-
 230, 234, 244-246, 252, 335,
 336
 in fairy tales, 296-300, 308, 336
 in insanity, 37, 38
 in lying, 200, 207, 208

Wish (*continued*),
 in psychopathological actions,
 335
 in selections of vocation, 319,
 324, 336
 in wit, 335

Wit,
 animism, 122
 automatism, 119, 120
 condensation, 115-117
 displacement, 117-119
 distortion, 157
 differences between dream and,
 137, 138
 ellipsis, 122
 harmless, 126, 133
 nonsense, 122
 outdoing, 124, 125
 purposeful, 125-137
 representation through oppo-
 site, 123
 resemblance between dream
 and, 137
 sense in nonsense, 123, 124
 smutty joke, 126-131, 133-135,
 136
 technique of, 113-125
 tendencies of, 125-138
 unification, 120, 121
 wish in, 335
 through similarity, 125

"Yoni lingam," 66

Youngest child, 289

Zurich school 13